THE New Republic

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FEBRUARY 9, 1959

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Washington Wire

Eisenhower's Obsession

WITNESSES before Congress are almost unanimous that there is little or no short-term danger of inflation. A mixed batch of university economists, and the staff members of the conservative Federal Reserve Board, all testified to the same thing last week.

Furthermore, in the past five years no European democracy—or Canada—has held its currency more stable than the US has the dollar, in spite of some Eisenhower seepage. Then why the shouting? Because "Inflation" is being deliberately made a bogey. It is being made a panic word in an attempt to stampede the country away from reasonable federal expenditures for necessary social objectives. The men around Eisenhower know what they are doing. They have given the President an obsession, and his whole policy is based upon it.

Cars and Stocks

THE PUBLIC has won its fight for cheap, sensible small cars. The Detroit Big 3 have surrendered and will bring out the new models this fall, meanwhile discontinuing their lowest-priced present models. It is a story of a great successful consumer revolt. The "we-know-best" attitude of haughty manufacturers yielded to reality only after last year's 10-year low in domestic car sales. Since cars underpin the nation's whole economy through steel, glass, rubber and similar manufacture, the consumers' partial boycott of the juke-box monsters helped produce the "tail-fin recession" of 1957-58.

The *New York Times* financial page asked a clutch of stock brokers last Sunday what they thought of the market, which was a good deal like asking Hollywood what it thought of movies. Most brokers aren't going to decry the goods they sell. But the fact is that nearly everybody knows that stock prices are way too high, and that some sort of a jolt is over-due. The only importance of this to you and me is that a really serious Wall Street readjustment might endanger the economy as a whole. America has been making a plodding but steady recovery from Mr. Eisenhower's second recession in six years. It has not yet regained the territory lost. Recovery is slower than expected six months ago. A bad stock market break now could (but fortunately isn't likely to) communicate itself to the whole economy.

Sitting Ducks

WITTY Oberlin College Professor Ben W. Lewis warned Congress against "Economics by admonition" in testimony here before the Kefauver Anti-Monopoly Committee. Eisenhower, he pointed out, keeps exhorting industry and labor not to do the very things that the sacrosanct free enterprise system impels them to do, namely, seek higher profits, and wages. Hortatory appeals aren't enough, he said, in a system that is "geared to gain, not to goodness." Lewis gave a searching study of what he called "creeping admonitionism." Either you control, or you don't control, he argued: either you have free enterprise or you don't.

Capitalism is supposed to be founded on the impersonal forces of countless free decisions based on self-interest and kept in check by the rod of government. Should the government now try to rule by plaintive White House appeals rather than by positive action? For himself, Professor Lewis said, he would be uneasy and "a little ashamed" to be living his economic life within the limits of grace afforded by minority power groups. Instead of admonition, Lewis predicted, "the years ahead will see a great increase in conscious, collective, governmental controls and of government enterprise." Private firms, he said, are so big they frighten even their owners: "Our giant firms are getting like fat, delectable ducks, virtually inviting the government to open fire with something more effective than antitrust (laws). The invitation will be accepted."

The decline in Eisenhower's power and prestige is now developing much faster than anticipated. The slow-moving public seems finally to be making up its mind where the trouble lies in Washington. It's a sad business really, for Eisenhower is a well-meaning man. But a still sadder business, of course, is the position of the nation. We have two years more with a listless hand on the tiller.

Richmond's Fall

FOR YEARS Virginia has been the intellectual leader of the South. Under a tight political machine Senator Byrd has preached massive resistance to school integration. He defied the Supreme Court. Six states followed Virginia's lead: South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Florida and Louisiana. Now the courts have closed in. It seems like a second Appomattox. Byrd's man, Governor J. Lindsay Almond, publicly announces that desegregation can't be stopped. Richmond has fallen.

Significantly enough, North Carolina did not follow the Byrd lead. It took a more moderate course of token integration. It acknowledged the goal of integration, in principle at least. So did Tennessee: so did Arkansas, until Faubus threw the fat in the fire for political purposes. In retrospect it looks as though the leadership of Raleigh and Chapel Hill had been wiser than Richmond's.

Faubus For Fulbright?

THE Senate Foreign Relations Committee now has a chairman with a first-rate mind, William Fulbright of Arkansas. He is also young, 54, compared with retiring 91-year old Theodore Green (D. RI.). He hated McCarthy and cast the only vote against giving him funds in 1954. But will Fulbright really exercise his new power? Sometimes Fulbright seems lacking in toughness, able though he is. He pulled back from the investigation of Wall Street in 1955. He could have made his voice heard more strongly on foreign affairs long before this, but adopted a moody, captious attitude. Some think that Fulbright's real fear is that Faubus will run against him in 1962. It is the sad price Southern statesmen pay to racists. Witness how Talmadge forced out veteran Walter George.

T.R.B.

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Correspondence

► *The Same Old Schmeerkunst*

SIRS:

MR. HESS suggests in his communication (NR, Jan. 26) that "perhaps his expectation was naïve" that liberal magazines should sympathize "with original works by dedicated artists." Mr. Hess is right: it was naïve to expect that

(Continued on page 31)

The Great Pear

NOW THAT the orbit path of the Vanguard satellite has confirmed what should have been known all along, namely that the earth is sadly misshapen, we are moved to return to that endlessly fascinating subject: man's vision of himself in the cosmic scheme.

The new description of the earth as "pear-shaped" seems singularly—and incomprehensibly, for reasons that will be clear almost immediately—inaccurate. For though all the pears we have observed are " 'flat' in the Southern hemisphere and narrow and 'pointed' in the North" (as is the earth, according to Vanguard data), pears also have a "squeeze" or a "waist," located roughly where milady's has been ever since M. Ives St. Laurent moved M. Christian Dior's "equator" approximately 100 degrees from the Southern into the Northern hemisphere. As far as we can determine from interpretations of the new geophysical finds provided for laymen by William L. Laurence of *The New York Times* and others, there is absolutely nothing "Empire" about the shape of the earth.

How then should it be described? We have searched hard for an analogue better than the pear and reluctantly return to the first that occurred to us, the egg. Yet the pear seems preferred by the earth scientists—eggheads themselves. The only explanation we can think of is that our scientists, who have been rising in public esteem with every Russian technical triumph, don't want to place their recent popularity in jeopardy. Suppose their Russian colleagues and competitors, who are notoriously untrustworthy in such matters, should come up with evidence from *their* satellites to prove that the earth is not "pear-shaped" after all, but lemon-shaped. Obviously, the backfire from such a disclosure, if our scientists had employed the egg analogue, could be disastrous. What would reflect well-earned and long-overdue credit on our scientific eggheads if the earth should remain egg-shaped, might also suggest their lemon-headedness if their calculations were challenged.

But let us not impute base motives. The new information the scientists give us can often be read two ways. For example, in a recent book review an astro-physicist was described as taking "comfort" from the thought that there are probably several hundred thousands of planets in our galaxy with life conditions identical with those of earth. Now, one can read this to mean that the astro-physicist was experiencing further conviction of man's (and his own) insignificance—reliving, as it were, some of the traumatic effects of Darwin's theories on Anglican clerics of his day. But the word that he was "comforted" is against this reading. It suggests that he might be suffering from a sensation of loneliness in contemplation of his own genius, and consequently was comforted by the thought that somewhere, in all those thousands of possible earth-like planets, there just might be a handful of non-terrestrial beings able to "speak his language."

The possibility that the latter might be the truer interpretation ought not to evoke scorn. Most of us, after all, have enough self-esteem to be able

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to sympathize with the loneliness of the gifted. The late Ralph Linton, Yale's great anthropologist, explained the emergence of civilizations by estimating that one individual in 3,000 is "superior." Thus, civilizations could be created when the food supply anywhere became plentiful enough for a sufficient number of multiples of 3,000 to survive so that the superior individuals isolated in each multiple would have somebody to talk to, collaborate with and compete with. When one considers the number of these superior individuals who at any stage of civilization are drawn off into and absorbed by non-superior pursuits such as government and advertising, it is perfectly clear why those who must bear the burden of the many superior pursuits—such as literature, the arts, the "pure" sciences or editorial-writing—cannot escape the feeling of loneliness. We *are,* after all, spread pretty thin.

The Ecumenical Council

THAT WHICH separates the Christian churches has often appeared greater than that which unites them. The deliberations of the forthcoming Ecumenical Council called by Pope John XXIII to explore the fissures within Christendom may help somewhat to alter this impression It is the first such Council summoned by the Vatican since 1869-70.

The Vatican announcement has confused some, since in modern times what is called the "ecumenical movement" has been concerned not with the role of Catholic Christendom but with bringing together the non-Roman Churches. After the World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh in 1910, the Universal Christian Council for Life and Work was founded and held a series of meetings. This merged with a parallel movement, the World Conference on Faith and Order, to become the World Council of Churches, which holds its third Assembly next year.

Soon after World War II, the late Pope Pius XII showed some interest in the ecumenical movement, and in December, 1949, the Congregation of the Holy Office issued a directive instructing the Bishops of the Roman Catholic Church to "name competent priests who, faithful to the doctrine and directives of the Holy See, will closely follow everything pertaining to the ecumenical movement." But like Pius IX a century before, Pius XII proved averse to any step which could have been interpreted as a relaxation of traditional attitudes. The encyclical *humani generis* in 1950 warned against any compromise of Roman Catholic doctrine. And Pius left unanswered not long before his death a friendly message from Athenagoras who, as Patriarch of Constantinople, is the "first among equals" among the heads of the various Orthodox Churches.

While the 21st Ecumenical Council in the history of the Church of Rome may not take place in time to compete for headlines with the 1960 Olympic Games in Rome, and while it may not answer the 21st Congress of the Soviet Communist Party by opening the way to union of all Christian Churches—or even of Eastern and Roman Churches—it certainly bespeaks a great change in the Holy See, under the direction of Pope John.

Changes in Taft-Hartley

AMENDMENT of Taft-Hartley, rather than the morality of the American labor movement, appears to be the central issue in the pending debate over labor reform legislation. Senator Kennedy's bill proposes secret union elections, disclosure of "conflict of interest" by union officials, preservation of accurate records of union finances and standards for handling trusteeships over local unions. Persons convicted of certain criminal offenses would be barred from employment as union officials and officials guilty of falsification or destruction of records would be subject to criminal penalties.

Employers would be required to report payments to labor "consultants" who act as middlemen and the "consultants" would have to report their revenues.

With all this the Administration bill, proposed by Senator Goldwater, is in agreement. The divergence comes in how each wants to amend Taft-Hartley.

Senator Kennedy wants to outlaw picketing to extort pay-offs from employers, eliminate what President Eisenhower called the "strike-busting" provision of Taft-Hartley (that which bars strikers from voting in representation elections), legalize closed shop arrangements in industries with transitory employment (such as the construction and entertainment trades), and direct the NLRB to take jurisdiction over all disputes arising under the labor relations act.

Senator Goldwater's changes would restrict picketing much further. His bill would prohibit secondary boycotts and is much vaguer in its directions to the NLRB concerning areas of jurisdiction and the right of those who strike because of wages or working conditions to vote in NLRB elections. The closed shop in the construction industry would be permitted.

Employer groups are committed to opposing any labor reform measure that does not include the Goldwater provisions. Labor, on the other hand, feels it cannot consent to the principle of government regulation of unions involved in the morality sections without the Kennedy-type amendments to Taft-Hartley. The unions are fearful that if, as some have proposed, the reform and Taft-Hartley sections are wrapped in separate packages, labor will be left holding the bag on T-H.

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McElroy and Missiles

THE Secretary of Defense admitted at the Senate missile hearing last week that Senator Symington was right after all. The United States' military strategic plans would leave this country way behind the Soviet Union in missiles should the Kremlin choose to build all the ICBM's it is capable of producing. And Secretary McElroy agreed with Senator Symington that there is no reason to believe that the Soviet Union will not produce all it can.

The concession by Mr. McElroy does not necessarily prove Senator Symington right in disputing the wisdom of the President's cost-conscious defense budgeting. Perhaps the Administration can somewhat justify its refusal to attempt to match the Russians missile for missile. It can point out that it does not attempt to match the Russians soldier for soldier in the build-up of its ground forces. And it can ask how many missiles are needed to destroy the world.

However, Mr. McElroy's conduct in the debate that preceded the Senate hearing deserves comment. He had consistently chosen to deny in public, although conceding it in private, the substance of Mr. Symington's complaints about the US missiles lag. At an earlier news conference he made a series of statements calculated to create a public impression that he refuted the Senator. Mr. McElroy said the Russians do not now have an operational ICBM. He said they will not have any before the US. He said that the estimate that the Russians will have 300 ICBM's in 1960 while the US would have comparatively few was exaggerated. Senator Symington had every reason on the next day to complain on the Senate floor that:

> This statement by the Secretary implies a great deal more combat readinesss on the part of the United States than is justified by the very few ICBM's this country will have available for retaliation in the next two years.

Mr. McElroy did not lie. But his lack of candor constituted a form of gamesmanship more suitable to selling soap.

Classroom Shortages

FIGURES just released by the US Office of Education on the nation's classroom shortage indicate that communities on their own can do little more than handle the tide of new students; the old classroom needs remain about the same. The nation is 140,500 classrooms short for the current school year, as against 142,300 last year at this time.

Not that communities have been doing nothing. They built 71,600 classrooms last school year, most of which were promptly filled by children enrolling in the schools for the first time. The figures also show that communities plan to build fewer classrooms this school year—68,440—than last. These classrooms, too, will do little more than take care of new students.

In short, the US Chamber of Commerce claim that communities can do what is needed without federal help is being disproved. The Administration either will have to ignore, or twist, its own figures in order to argue plausibly that school construction can be left largely to the states.

Ayub's Four Months

GENERAL AYUB KHAN'S land reform edict last week is without doubt the most important and promising event in the four months of his military regime in Pakistan. As land reform plans go, the proposals of his Land Reforms Commission are not extreme: landholders will still be able to have 500 acres of irrigated land and 1,000 acres of unirrigated land, and the government assumes the burden of compensation payments to the dispossessed in the form of interest-bearing bonds redeemable in 25 years. The 500-acre ceiling assures that the country will continue to have a powerful middle-landowning class.

The significant consequence, however, is that the present concentrated holdings of 6,000 big landlords who own 15 percent of the land in West Pakistan are to be broken up. This assault on feudal power would in the long run be a far more revolutionary event, if actually carried out, than Ayub's takeover. The test will be whether the regime uses its power of martial law to accomplish such a revolutionary change, and whether the consolidation of small holdings also contemplated under the Commission plan is carried out with sympathy to present small holders. (A dissenting Commission member, Ghulam Khan, has pointed to loopholes in the plan which would permit a landlord to retain effective control over his holdings through transfers to heirs.)

One of the main reasons for skepticism over the possibility of a stable Pakistani government has been the belief that Ayub would have to rely on conservative economic interests—that his role was that of disciplinarian and caretaker rather than a progressive leader in economic and social affairs. Skepticism is still warranted, but the mere fact that the General has begun to talk about reform is a step forward.

NEXT WEEK

New Orleans

Fifth in a series on "Southerners and Schools"

by HELEN FULLER

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One Martyr Missing

MOST EDITORS missed the point, but it was no segregationist victory when Federal Judge Frank Johnson last week in Montgomery acquitted a defiant Alabama judge charged with contempt. The story begins when George C. Wallace, firebrand from Barbour County with a record of some distinction as an education-minded legislator, set out in 1957 to be Governor of Alabama. All candidates pledged a fight virtually to the death in defense of segregation, but Wallace, then a circuit judge, won biggest headlines by declaring that any federal civil rights agents caught messing around in his jurisdiction would be jailed. When candidate Jimmy Faulkner announced that as Governor he himself would go to jail if necessary to save segregation, former Governor Gordon Persons, a candidate who later dropped out of the race, said he thought the public might be more interested in a Governor who could remain alive, out of jail, and on the job. But the election last May revealed that the Wallace segregation shouts had been only second-best to those of Attorney General John Patterson, now Governor. Wallace and friends, however, did not give up. Alabama has a way of electing Number Two men Governor four years later. Then, too, there were suggestions that Sen. John Sparkman, up for re-election in 1960, might be ripe for attack by an alert young martyr.

So when the Civil Rights Commission last fall sought voter registration records in two counties of the Wallace district, he snorted defiance loud and often, in effect saying, "Put me in jail!" This seemed to be precisely his destination, and the knowing ones were whispering "George is your next Governor."

Defiant or not, Wallace did finally turn the records over to county grand juries, which in turn gave them to the Commission. Last week Federal Judge Johnson, Wallace's old University of Alabama classmate, wrote in dismissing the charge of contempt that Wallace "attempted to give the impression he was defying the court's order" but that actually he "assisted the federal agents." Conviction, rather than acquittal, would have been victory for candidate Wallace.

Political Economy

ON JANUARY 23, 1959, President Eisenhower appointed representatives of the major Executive agencies, including the Office of Defense and Civilian Mobilization, to form the Committee on Government Activities Affecting Prices and Costs. He said: "We need to make sure that we are not contributing to the nation's inflationary problems by the way in which we run our government business."

That government is best which spends least. But:

On October 31, 1958, campaigning in Pittsburgh in a Senatorial election which he won by some 117,000 votes in a poll of almost 4 million, Hugh Scott announced that he had word from the White House that the Army Engineers' contract for the two turbines required for their Greer's Ferry Dam project in Arkansas would be given to the Baldwin-Lima-Hamilton Company of Philadelphia.

Six weeks later, the ODCM, asked for a ruling on this contract, obligingly found that the national security of the United States would be threatened if the Baldwin firm ran low on orders. Baldwin-Lima-Hamilton's bid was $1,757,210. English Electric's bid was $1,450,700. The difference of $306,510 is the difference between economy and political economy.

This case adds one more item in a series of awards to domestic over overseas bidders at a six figures difference in costs that goes back to 1953 when Westinghouse of Pittsburgh was given a contract for generators for Chief Joseph Dam in Oregon in preference to a lower offer by English Electric; other instances occurred in 1954 and 1955, in the latter year with an $875,130 differential.

Executive Suites

ALBERT M. COLE, a former Kansas Republican Congressman, has resigned as Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency. And what will he do now? He is to be executive vice president of the Reynolds Aluminum Service Corporation, hired "to promote the use of Aluminum in commercial and residential buildings and in the urban renewal program." Mr. Cole's advancement is not an unfamiliar one in Washington. There are the many Generals promoted to six-star positions with corporations who do business with the Pentagon, and who are undoubtedly worth every cent they are now paid. But there are also civilians such as Carl W. McArdle, the Philadelphia newspaperman who became Mr. Dulles' Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs and is now assistant to the board chairman of the Penn-Texas Company.

Or Roderick L. O'Connor who came from the law to the State Department (Administrator of the Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs), now with CIBA Pharmaceuticals. The former college teacher, *Business Week* editor, and then White House economic adviser, Gabriel Hauge is presently employed by the Manufacturers Trust Company as its finance committee chairman. Robert Minor, lawyer and former Interstate Commerce Commissioner has moved to the vice-presidential offices of the New York Central. And Owen Clarke, who until his ICC appointment, was chairman of the Washington State Public Service Commission, is a vice president of the Chesapeake and Ohio.

Moral for the younger generation: a business career is still a steppingstone to public service; but it now works both ways.

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Monroney's IDA

THE MONRONEY PLAN for establishing a soft-loan International Development Association—as an arm of the World Bank—has the appeal of a multilateral, rather than bilateral, approach to the needs of developing economies and as such has attracted sympathetic attention among many Congressional supporters of foreign economic aid. There are obvious psychological advantages in channeling Western capital to less-developed nations through international agencies. But these advantages are in our view much over-rated. The capital that would be needed by an effective International Development Association would have to come primarily from the US and West Germany: thus IDA, like the World Bank now, would be regarded in the less-developed countries as primarily an American instrument. Moreover, the assumption that IDA *would* get any significant amount of West German capital is extremely iffy. Bonn is more likely to use its economic power for the promotion of private economic interests, emphasizing commercial credits, on stiff terms, rather than government-to-government loans. German "aid" to India's Rourkela steel mill project, for example, provides valuable capital and technical services—at six percent interest and on a spot payment basis (the Indians were given all of three years as

Some Unfinished Business of Liberals

NO ONE CAN DOUBT that the Eisenhower Administration is nobly performing the historic task of conservatives. Its virtuosity in accumulating unfinished business is beyond question. It is a lion in the task. Can we be sure that liberals are matching its zeal?

There are a number of things on which it seems to me the liberal position is very poorly prepared. First, there is the problem of the massive role of our military expenditures in the economy and the alternatives. Increasingly we encounter the conviction that if we cannot afford war, neither can we afford peace. No doubt a drastic reduction in military spending would involve problems. But I hazard the view that with some exercise of foresight, planning and imagination, they would be far from insuperable. Immediately there should be generous payments to individuals and families left jobless by the change. Tax reduction for those in the low income brackets who reliably spend their entire income, and more, would account for several billions. Urban redevelopment, housing and transportation; education and school construction; and a solid increase in economic aid would offset another substantial chunk.

OUR SECOND PRIORITY task is to mount a new and what hopefully might be the final attack on poverty. No one I imagine denies that in the 22 years since Franklin Roosevelt saw "one-third of a nation ill-housed, ill-clad, ill-nourished," there has been much progress in the reduction of privation and want. But we cannot be satisfied with this general progress—important though it is. Both the statistics and the evidence of our eyes must tell us that it is leaving too many people behind. (In 1956, between two and three million families and individuals still had incomes of less than $1,000; 7.5 million had incomes below $2,000.) These are the urban slum dwellers, the minorities, the bypassed rural areas and the nation's truly forgotten men, women and children—those who do hard ill-paid farm labor and have not, in many cases, even the minimal amenity of a place to live. The problem must be attacked in a large and generous frame of mind. It means much better schools and health and welfare services and help to communities that do not have these in adequate quality and quantity and which cannot afford them. Almost certainly it means supplementary income for families that cannot afford proper care and education for their children. We will hear much of the corrupting effect of such help. It would be well were it compared to the corrupting effect of ignorance and starvation.

THIRD AND MOST IMMEDIATELY we must find a way of reconciling full employment and economic growth with price stability. If not, our hard-won social gains and our hard-won public services will be subject to the constant erosion of inflation. There is only one thing we can be for. In the big industries where the basic wage and price patterns are set, we must have a national price and wage policy that is consistent with price stability. This will unquestionably take some kind of public mechanism. Just what this should be is uncertain—one hopes that it can be simple, and certainly it must safeguard the vital democratic interest of all parties. But clearly it is time that we began to find out what is required.

J. K. GALBRAITH

Excerpts from an address to ADA, Washington, D. C.—Jan. 31, 1959.

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a moratorium during their foreign exchange crisis last year)!

In the absence of substantial German participation, the IDA would depend on large-scale US support. Yet the sponsors envisage an initial US contribution of only $300 million and an ultimate capital fund not exceeding $1 billion. And these contributions would no doubt be used to alibi decreasing or ceasing altogether appropriations for the already-existing (and badly undernourished) Development Loan Fund. Even in this session the prospect that IDA *might* have Administration sponsorship next year is serving as a pretext for holding back support of adequate Loan Fund legislation. The Loan Fund needs at least twice what the President has asked ($700 million) for the coming year. Let the test of Congressional attitudes on foreign economic assistance come here.

Other Republicans

FOR A CONTRAST to the cost-conscious timidities of the Eisenhower Budget and his Economic Report, we refer readers to the January 17 issue of *The Saturday Review*, devoted to "The American Economy 1959" and guest-edited by the Committee for Economic Development. Many CED members, beginning with its first chairman Paul Hoffman, were numbered among early Ike-Likers. Two of the contributors to this symposium are Republican businessmen who have been prominent in this Administration: Meyer Kestnbaum, who served as chairman of the Committee on Intergovernmental Relations, and the recently resigned Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, Marion Folsom.

The big difference between their approach to economic problems and the President's is one of mood: where the Administration is worried about overdoing things, these men see things to do. Mr. Folsom, for example, shows markedly little need for the guidance on national goals which the President proposes to get from a new commission. He says:

> Would not our country progress faster and more surely with a more foresighted attitude toward investment in health and education, in fundamental research, in improving the functions of government, in bettering the relations among people, and in artistic and cultural developments? Of course I am aware of the large amounts that are spent today for social progress of this nature, but I believe we should increase our expenditures for these purposes at a faster rate than we have done.

Mr. Folsom points out that while the country's research expenditures increased from one-third of a billion dollars in 1940 to $10 billion in 1957, most of the increase went for applied research: "But we should keep in mind that applied research builds upon and exploits the knowledge first developed by basic research. And that is where we particularly need increased emphasis—basic research." He means research on radiation hazards to health, on highway safety, on the supply of pure air and water to metropolitan concentrations, on the causes of poverty and means of leading needy families to a more productive life, on causes of broken homes and juvenile delinquency.

He calls attention to the present shortage of 125,000 classrooms and 135,000 qualified teachers in a population whose youth of college age will double by 1967. He cites the findings of the President's Committee on Education Beyond the High School, which found that between last year and 1970, more than a quarter billion dollars is needed to raise faculty salaries and one and one-third billion to provide physical facilities for education. Quite properly, Mr. Folsom proposes that these needs be underwritten by a variety of sources, from state and local and private funds as well as from federal grants. But he sees the need, and he recommends meeting it with enthusiasm.

Mr. Kestnbaum, though sharing the President's concern over inflationary trends; believes that:

> We are now at the stage where as a result of technological progress we are rapidly releasing people from industrial production in order to make them available for the vast quantity of services that are needed for the proper development of our society.
>
> These services include education, government, recreation, travel, the whole host of health services including medical care and many other services which cannot usually be organized under a system of mass production. . . . Any realistic appraisal of our economic problems, it seems to me, must recognize that while we are demanding more and more in the way of services, many of them can be furnished only through government. I think we have no choice in this matter.

How Much Inflation?

ECONOMIST Alvin H. Hansen of Harvard University reinforces the position taken by Leon Keyserling in this issue (see page 18), that people are needlessly nervous about the inflationary peril. His letter in the *New York Times* of January 23 notes that during the past 10 years the "compound rate" of increase in wholesale prices was 1½ percent annually, and of consumer prices 1¾ percent. He compares this with the 16 years of peacetime prosperity from 1897 to 1913, in which the price increase rate per annum was much higher—2½ percent. Thus, over the six decades, the yearly rate of price increases—wholesale and consumer—has only been 2 1/3 percent.

Yet, Professor Hansen says:

> When anyone suggests a possible increase in prices of around 2 or 2½ percent per annum over the next two

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> or three decades alarmists are apt to cry "ruin and disaster." This rate of increase is, however, precisely what the US in fact experienced during the last 60 years.

The 1948-1958 period, although it included the Korean War, brought an annual price rise "not much more than half as large as that of the entire 60 year period." And moreover, these price rises have been accompanied by extraordinary growth of the economy since 1897 and a more equitable distribution of wealth. Given this perspective, "it should not be difficult to see,

> that the social utility of the marginal dollar spent by the federal government (defense, education, hospitals, urban development) is far higher today than the social utility of the marginal dollar spent privately—for longer and longer cars, for example.

He concluded with the observation that "increased federal expenditures now, with higher taxes if and when needed to contain inflation, is called for."

The Crime Wave In South Africa

Johannesburg

THE NEW YORK TIMES reported last month from Johannesburg on the high crime rate in this growing city, stating that assault, robbery with violence, payroll hold-ups, rape and killing have become almost commonplace. This spread of crime and its generally violent character is more than the ordinary incidence of lawlessness that has disturbed so many urban communities in other parts of the world in the unsettled postwar years. In South Africa, crime has a direct relationship to the policies of racial discrimination. The administration of apartheid legislation, with its multiplicity of regulations, results in the arrest and punishment of some 200,000 Africans every year for petty breaches of the law and familiarizes them with prison conditions. Decent people are herded together with vicious criminals, merely because they have offended against one or another of the country's racial laws.

Under the Master and Servants Laws, breach of contract by an African can cause him to be arrested without a warrant and held in custody without bail. This happened three weeks ago to an 18-year old servant girl, the niece of an employee of an ex-Chief Justice of South Africa. He protested angrily in court against her arrest "for this trivial offense under an antiquated law."

Constant harassment of Africans under the many "Native Laws" of the country make it impossible for them to escape the commission of one offense or another. Consequently, most Africans do not see the law as a shield to protect them but as an instrument in the hands of harsh armed police to oppress them.

Democratic action on the part of Africans incites the anger of the authorities as much, if not more than, the activities of gangsters. An innocent political demonstration, a public meeting or a spontaneous strike in a small factory is the signal for the turn-out of truck-loads of heavily armed police.

The aggressive attitude of white authority toward the non-white population has built a barrier of fear, suspicion and, in many cases, hate. The necessary cooperation between police and the public for the prevention and detection of crime is therefore lacking. Few Africans will risk a visit to a police station for fear of the treatment they might receive there.

This situation is all in favor of the criminals. Not only do they engage in armed robbery and violence in the white areas but they terrorize the residents of the African townships. The overwhelming majority of Africans are respectable, law-abiding citizens. They suffer more than the whites at the hands of the gangster element. Life in the African townships is one of constant terror because of the "tsotsis"—the vicious ducktails who assault and rob at will.

Many of these "tsotsis" are the product of the demoralizing slum life of Africans in the urban areas. Their first contact with uniformed authority was probably in their early, impressionable years, when they were startled from their sleep in the cold dark hours around 3 a.m., by the loud banging on the door preceding a police invasion on one of the routine house-to-house raids that are a regular feature of township life. The glare of the policemen's torches, the harsh demand for documents or information, is part of a terrifying experience which forever after is associated with the law.

The crime wave is due mainly to poverty and evil social conditions. Low wages compel both parents to work. Because of traveling time, mothers and fathers are generally away from home from 5 a.m. until evening. Because there is no free compulsory education for Africans, the children do not receive the alternative protection of school discipline while their parents are away. Also, the migratory labor system, which separates tribal Africans from their families in the Reserves and congregates them in large numbers in compounds, barrack-like hostels and other places in the urban areas, creates an unbalanced society, where the temptations for wrongdoing are multiplied.

In an effort to curb the increase in violent crime, the government is constantly changing the law to impose more severe punishment. This effort to make the punishment fit the crime has resulted in criminals making the crime fit the punishment. Last week, for example, a case was reported of an armed robber threatening his victim with death, saying, "If they catch me here, I hang; if I shoot you I hang—I can only hang one time."

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The Superficial Aspect

Leave It to Politicians

THE Committee for Economic Development commands much respect even from those who are chronically skeptical of the good faith of business tycoons when they discuss public affairs. I share that respect, not entirely on account of the quality of the Committee's output, but also because I have had opportunity to sit in on one or two of their sessions; and I am firmly persuaded that the men around the table on those occasions were really trying to get at the facts, not trying to twist the facts to serve some particular interest of their own.

I am accordingly taken aback to find a representative of the Committee apparently trying to duck rather than to field a hot one coming at him as straight as a bullet and shoulder high. I refer to Dr. Theodore O. Yntema's explanation, in an article in *The Saturday Review,* of what has happened to the American automobile industry. Dr. Yntema says:

> Almost overnight our automobile industry in the United States has shifted from a net export to a net import basis. Imports now outnumber exports three to one. This has resulted partly from efforts by US manufacturers to follow the bulk market in their lowest priced product. But the phenomenon is rooted in the rapid growth of automobile manufacturing abroad. . . .

Yes, yes, no doubt. Following the bulk market and foreign competition are a couple of grass-cutters that Dr. Yntema scooped up neatly. But he didn't put a glove on the hot one and it is hard to escape a sad suspicion that he didn't even see it go by. The hot one is the automobile industry's fond delusion that the American automobile purchaser is a bigger jackass than he actually is.

That he is something of an ass needs no proof beyond a cursory glance at the motor car industry's product for the past five years. It is loaded with hundreds of pounds of metal and glass serving no useful purpose and, because it is non-functional, in bad taste. The fact that up to 1956 this trumpery could be sold in enormous quantities at steadily higher prices is irrefutable proof of the average American purchaser's intellectual relation to the donkey.

But there is a limit to his asininity. This important truth is what the industry's guiding geniuses overlooked, or chose to ignore, for in 1957 they passed the limit and drove thousands of potential customers to the purchase of foreign cars. The imports that hurt are not the bejeweled custom jobs made by watch-makers and selling at $20,000 and up; they are the small cars that are vehicles intended to serve one purpose only, which is to take you there and bring you back. The foreign cars serve that purpose comfortably, conveniently and cheaply; therefore they sell. Yet an American car that would surpass them in comfort, convenience and inexpensive operation could knock them out of the market in six months.

There is no convincing evidence that the American buyer has changed his nature. He is still idiot enough to run until his tongue hangs out, keeping up with the Joneses; but today Jones is strutting about boasting that his new Byelo-Russian job can turn on a dime, park in a telephone booth and average 35 miles to the gallon, so all the keepers-up pant for a car able to beat that record by however small a fraction.

It does not follow that the industry was fundamentally wrong in its assumption that salesmanship is largely psychological manipulation of irrational impulses. Where the actual difference in quality among competing products is minuscule, that is perfectly true. The slip was the failure to grasp the high importance of quantitative as well as qualitative analysis of public idiocy. To say that a chump is a chump and let it go at that is a grave error; chumps fall into at least three distinct categories, fools, damfools and wiseacres, and to deal with a mere fool as you would with a wiseacre is calamitous.

MODERN psychology has learned a great deal in recent years about the sources and direction of American folly. The practice of sales organizations in hiring psychologists by platoons is therefore based on sound reasoning, but it can be overdone. For there is one branch of the art and mystery of donkey-driving that the typical psychologist has never mastered. He knows the kind of carrot that will appeal to the animal's taste, and he can calculate how many inches in front of his nose it should be held. But he seldom has any exact knowledge of the point at which the donkey is going to balk.

The men most highly skilled at locating this point are not the psychologists, they are the successful politicians. They may be blissfully ignorant of why the public swallows any of their bunk, but they always know just about when it is going to begin to gag. If they don't know it, they don't survive in politics. So there is a practical suggestion to the automobile industry: let it examine its payroll of psychologists, can every fourth man, and replace him with a third-term Senator, a second-term Governor, or, best of all, with a big-city party boss. With this man to apply the brakes at the right moment, the gadget-designers and the advertising copy-writers can safely be turned loose to do their worst.

GERALD W. JOHNSON

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Jewish Life Today in the Soviet Union

Moscow

THERE is no doubt that the Soviet Government discriminates against its Jews even though the precise rules of such discrimination are obviously considered top secret and even though intelligent, well-informed Jews in the Soviet Union have no specific knowledge, but only very vague ideas, about these rules.

On the basis of my experience and my conversations with Jews of different standing in the Soviet Union, I can affirm that Jews are barred from the Air Force and Navy officers' corps. Exceptionally, they are permitted in the regular Red Army officers' corps in those professions where Jews still predominate greatly, that is, the medical profession and in certain scientific research groups. Jews are also barred from membership in various Communist Party units, especially the cadre and propaganda section. It is quite certain, too, that no Jews are now being admitted to the central party papers and they are particularly excluded from the foreign section of the Soviet press. They are never sent abroad as correspondents for Soviet papers, radio or Tass Agency. Old-timers in the press, however, are not discriminated against.

While the number of Jewish students being admitted to universities is obviously restricted and limited, the application of this measure varies from place to place and even from school to school. Despite all restrictions, Jewish students are to be found everywhere, sometimes even in fair numbers. For example, Leningrad's school of music has a considerable number of Jewish students and there are also many Jews in the Leningrad faculty of medicine, in various technical institutes, and in the philology faculty, where foreign languages are being taught. In Moscow, the number of Jews in Moscow University is said to have been reduced again this year although it was already much less than 10 percent, the percentage of the Jewish population in Moscow to the general population. Yet in Kiev, where discrimination against Jews is believed to be greatest, there are a number of Jewish students in many university schools, although probably the figure is less than the relation of Jewish and non-Jewish populations in the town would warrant. There are also Jewish students in Riga and Lvov.

It does not seem that such a thing as an entirely non-Jewish faculty exists anywhere in the Soviet Union except possibly for special schools connected with the Army or the Party. It is even less likely that general rules exist concerning the appointment of Jewish professors and other scientific staff to various universities. Even less obvious is any discrimination against the Jews in such establishments as the Soviet Academy of Science, with its countless branches, or other Soviet cultural and scientific establishments like the many museums, libraries, institutions, etc. To a very large extent at least in Moscow, Leningrad and Kiev, these institutions are staffed by people of Jewish origin. For instance, professions like librarian, art historian, general historian, etc., are still very much "Jewish professions."

In the Ukraine the anti-Semitic current, always very strong, has now been further stimulated. There is apparently a trend in the Ukraine to demonstrate to public opinion that too many Jews occupy important posts and that they misuse their authority. Lately very wide publicity was given by the Ukrainian local press to the trial in Kiev of employees of a silk factory where 35 people, including the general manager, several of his assistants, a number of engineers, bookkeepers, warehouse keepers and some of their wives, were accused of stealing goods worth millions of rubles and selling them on the black market. From the names of the defendants, which appeared in the papers, it was obvious that 32 of the accused were Jewish. Sentences in this trial ranged from 5 to 20 years, and few women got very high prison terms. The trial provoked a new wave of anti-Jewish feeling and great uneasiness among the Jews all over the Ukraine.

Meanwhile, the ban on Jewish culture continues. In the whole Soviet Union there is only one newspaper in Yiddish, a weekly in Birobidjan, printed on four tiny pages and carrying only reprints from the local Russian paper. The circulation of this weekly is only a few thousand, and subscriptions from any other part of the Soviet Union are not accepted. The local radio station in Birobidjan broadcasts only a one-hour program in Yiddish once a week. The only other instance where Yiddish is permitted is in concerts of Yiddish songs. These take place in many of the main Soviet towns, usually a few times a year. The number of the singers is very limited. Only three have appeared in Moscow in recent years. The songs seem to have been selected to make the audience realize how miserable and backward Jewish culture was.

☆

The ban on books in Yiddish is still general. In May, 1957, a number of Yiddish writers sent a memorandum to Khrushchev in which they pointed out the great injustice being done them and to the Yiddish-speaking section of the Soviet population by preventing any Yiddish publications. No reply was ever received to this memorandum but a number of writers have received offers from various state publishing houses to publish their works in Russian translations. A volume of Sholem Aleichem stories was published in Russian last year. Allegedly 165,000 copies were printed, and, according to information that appeared in several Soviet literary newspapers, the Russian edition of this writer's complete works in six volumes will appear in 1959.

The ban on anything printed in Yiddish is so strict that even announcements of the Yiddish song concerts appearing on the walls in Moscow and other towns are in Russian only and the Yiddish names of the songs are being printed in

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Russian characters. The fiction is maintained that Russian Jews no longer understand Yiddish. So, at every concert of Yiddish songs there is an announcer in Russian who explains the subject of every song. Hebrew calendars are also, of course, entirely out of print. This is the single biggest requirement of Jews in Russia everywhere. Only a few synagogues show home-made calendars.

Yet celebration of the Jewish High Holidays here was marked by the unusual number of people who had never been to the synagogue before but who came this year to hear the prayers. There were people in their thirties and forties as well as young adults, teen-agers, and a considerable number of school children who came in their Soviet school uniforms. Especially striking was the appearance of these people during the Simchas Torah celebration in Moscow. The narrow lane on which the Moscow central synagogue is situated was crowded to capacity, so that traffic had to be suspended; and, in addition, there were groups assembled in the adjacent main street.

This flow to the synagogues of people who had never had any previous connection with religion, who did not understand the meaning of the religious ritual, and who were unable to comprehend Yiddish or Hebrew was also observed during all other holidays as well as on New Year and Yom Kippur. I spoke to several people in this category and asked them the reason for their coming. The explanations they offered amounted in fact to an admission of a feeling that they belonged to the Jewish people, although they did not have this feeling a few years before. They admitted, though not very willingly, that there were external reasons for an increasing consciousness of their Jewishness; but the most they would say about this was that most people in Russia still have some anti-Jewish feeling.

It is not true, however, that European Jewry in the USSR is facing the danger of physical extermination, through mass deportation or any other means. Even should the present regime be willing to return to Stalin's master plan in order to find a "final solution" for the Jewish problem, this could hardly be done without returning to the most sinister practices of the Stalin era. There are no indications that the present regime either wants or is able to do this.

There is no doubt that the Soviet leadership is now aware of the fact that a Jewish problem exists in Russia, that the Communist regime has failed to solve it, and that this problem is becoming more and more acute. However, there is a very large number of acute problems in Russia, many of which loom much more importantly than the Jewish one for the Soviet leaders.

One may expect that the position of the Jews in Russia will get increasingly more difficult. It may even be that a rapid proletarization of Jews is unavoidable, for it seems certain that the Russian masses are less and less willing to tolerate the large proportion of Jews in the professional class.

PHILIPPE BEN

MR. BEN *is Eastern European correspondent of* Le Monde.

Darwin's Gift of Positive Thinking

by ROBERT E. FITCH

"MY FATHER . . . was very conservative (although he was a liberal in politics)." Henrietta might have added that he was a radical in biology. But with some feminine instinct she put in second place the public and professional part of her father. As a person Charles Darwin was a conservative.

It would be too bad if today, when we look back 100 years to the first publication of *The Origin Of Species* and consider anew its revolutionary implications, we should forget the kindly and gentle conservative who was its author. For the striking thing about Darwin on the human side was his serenity about life. His entire character is a rebuke to our age of anxiety. He who was uncertain about God and immortality was quite certain about other realities of which we today—agnostics and theists alike—know nothing.

First of all there was the Moral Law, a universal standard of right and of wrong that was built into the structure of nature and of human nature. Like the law of gravitation it was operative everywhere, at all times, among all people. But it was not something abstract and remote; it could be found in the home. So Henrietta wrote: "As a matter of fact we were obedient children, and anything like deliberate disobedience may be said to have never entered our heads. The rules of life were very simple, and when anything could be explained to us it was, and even when it could not we never questioned the absoluteness of a definite command."

Not only did Darwin have it at home, but he was sure that he could find it in evolution. When it came to the critical question of what really sets off man from the

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animals, he recorded his agreement with those writers "who maintain that of all the differences between man and the lower animals, the moral sense or conscience is by far the most important. . . . It is summed up in that short but imperious *ought*, so full of high significance. It is the most noble of all the attributes of man." And then he went on to quote Immanuel Kant on the categorical imperative.

If he had had his roots in Athens or in Paris, he would have made reason the differentia. But for a true Englishman character always takes precedence over intelligence.

When it came to a study of the emotions in men and in animals, the same question had to be confronted again. What was the distinctively human emotion? Darwin's answer was the blush. Wolfgang Kohler, in *The Mentality Of Apes,* would report his opinion that laughter and tears are the feelings unique to human beings. But Darwin as a good Victorian Englishman preferred the blush. Because blushing reflects a sense of shame, and a sense of shame reflects our awareness of the moral imperative.

Classical atheism and classical agnosticism were in agreement on the objective reality of this Moral Law. So Thomas Huxley could write: "The absolute justice of the system of things is as clear to me as any scientific fact. The gravitation of sin to sorrow is as certain as that of the earth to the sun, and more so." Darwin, like Huxley, might doubt that he could "trust in the convictions of a monkey's mind" on final questions in theology. But he would not monkey with the Moral Law. The proofs for and against a First Cause may be beyond us; but, wrote Darwin with confidence, "man can do his duty."

If not God, then England would tell a man his duty and expect him to do it. This, too, like the law of gravitation, had visible effects *semper et ubique,* always and everywhere. In his voyage on the *Beagle,* Darwin could find reminders of the British Empire and of the Moral Law in any far place of the earth. Where their presence was withdrawn, there was chaos; where their presence was felt, there was order. Both would visit with swift retribution any affront to their majesty. And neither on the one nor on the other did the sun ever set.

Of course there were dark places to which their benignant influence had not yet penetrated. On Tierra del Fuego Darwin discovered a kind of people's democracy, with an excess of egalitarianism, and with no understanding of the role of a chief in establishing government. Elsewhere in South America the faults could be blamed on that "unnatural parent, Spain." Under such auspices one found political corruption and indolence. "At Mercedes I asked two men why they did not work. One gravely said the days were too long; the other that he was too poor." But what to an Englishman seemed most strange about these countries was "the absence of gentlemen by profession."

Nevertheless, Darwin found evidences of a British and a Moral Empire in unexpected places. At Tahiti, for instance, he was impressed both by the pineapples and by the missionaries. The pineapples had an excellent flavor, perhaps even better than that of those cultivated in England; "and this I believe is the highest compliment which can be paid to any fruit." As for the missionaries, were they not bringing the English Bible and English morality to the heathen? So Darwin was staunch in their defense. It was in New Zealand, however, that Darwin found conclusive evidence of the soundness of character of these evangelists. For there he came across a "merry party" of missionaries "at cricket"!

It is true that his feelings about Australia were troubled with ambiguities. "Farewell, Australia! you are a rising child. . . . I leave your shores without sorrow or regret." Yet in the concluding chapter of *The Voyage Of The Beagle,* when he looked back on it all, he could see the hand of Providence at work for the world in the institutions of his country: "It is impossible for an Englishman to behold these distant colonies, without a high pride and satisfaction. To hoist the British flag, seems to draw with it as a certain consequence, wealth, prosperity and civilization."

DARWIN'S third source of security was, in his own language, a Nice Soft Wife. As a bachelor on the *Beagle* he remembered with nostalgia that lovely creature, an English lady—"I have almost forgotten what she is—something very angelic and good." But when the long voyage was over, he set himself for what William Irvine has called "a premeditated romance." At this point he wrote to a friend: "Only picture to yourself a nice soft wife on a sofa, with a good fire and books and music perhaps."

He was to have all these things in his cousin Emma. She and Charles were perfect soul-mates. Even at the age of 12 Emma was known as "Little Miss Slip-Slop," because of her indifference to dress and her habit of making a litter. But as she noted of Charles, he has as one of his "minor qualities that add particularly to one's happiness" that of "not being fastidious." Moreover, she was of a gentle and kindly disposition; and so was he, being also—admirable trait in a husband!—"humane to animals." Above all he appealed to something in her which Mrs. Thomas Huxley described as "a sort of nestling feeling."

It has been said that this was the marriage of the perfect invalid to the perfect nurse. Only the roles were the reverse of those in another famous Victorian marriage, the one between Robert and Elizabeth Browning. In this instance it was the wife who was strong and the husband who was ill. For at least 40 years Charles cherished his ailments—a dizziness in the head, a tremor of the hand, a disorder of the stomach, a pain in the heart, a stammer in the tongue on the first word of a sentence, an inability to sleep quietly through the night.

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Always his faithful and beloved Emma waited upon him. She did not complain of this. But she did enter a mild protest that, when he was well and his work was done, he could not enjoy his leisure—"I wish he could smoke a pipe or ruminate like a cow."

But he was lovely with the children. He played with them so beautifully. This does not mean that he assumed any of the routine duties of their nurture. Emma was there for that. Indeed, Emma cared for everything. She had more time for her home now as she gradually gave up music and going to the theatre, and was content daily to read part of a novel to her husband. So she cared for the garden, the house, the horses, the children and Charles. A Nice Soft Wife? Certainly she was very, very nice, but about as soft as Florence Nightingale.

A FOURTH thing which Darwin believed in and meant to have was the Happy Ending. In his novels he insisted upon it. There must be some character, preferably a pretty woman, with whom he could thoroughly fall in love. As for an unhappy ending—"a law ought to be passed" against that. So Charles liked to have Emma read to him from Jane Austen or from Sir Walter Scott. But he had not much use for George Eliot, though he would put in a good word for *Silas Marner*.

He made sure, moreover, that evolution would have its Happy Ending. He inserted the promise of it at the beginning of *The Origin Of Species:*

> When we reflect on this struggle, we may console ourselves with the full belief, that the war of nature is not incessant, that no fear is felt, that death is generally prompt, and that the vigorous, the healthy, and the happy survive and multiply.

Then he confirmed it at the conclusion of the book:

> Hence we may look with some confidence to a secure future of great length. And as natural selection works solely by and for the good of each being, all corporeal and mental endowments will tend to progress towards perfection.

Maybe God couldn't do it.—Alas! why was there so much of evil and suffering in *God's* world?—But nature could do it, and evolution would manage it.

To be sure, when others read this tale of struggle and of survival, they would not find in it so ironic a picture. More than one vulgar fellow, hearing this talk "that no fear is felt . . . that the vigorous, the healthy, and the happy survive and multiply," this talk about "a secure future of great length," would be tempted to scorn. But there was no doubt about it in Darwin's mind. In *his* evolution, there would be a Happy Ending. One can only regret that, after his formal education for the ministry, he never took orders. He would have preached consoling sermons. And Emma would have made the perfect preacher's wife.

Like any other once-born soul Charles looked forward to the Happy Ending because he was conscious of deserving it. A crypto-Calvinist like Thomas Huxley might be oppressed by a sense of sin. But Darwin was always serene in the assurance that he had never done any great wrong. Of course there was that chap Watson, who had pointed out that, in the first four paragraphs of the introduction to *The Origin Of Species,* the words "I," "me," "my" occur 43 times. A good joke, that!—although, as Darwin suggested in a note to Hooker, there was no need to spread it about. Indeed, we cannot believe that even Saint Peter, at the Gates of Paradise, would have had the heart to tell Charles that he was a sinner and an egotist, perhaps even more than others. After all, he was *so* loving about it!

As for those of us who live in this Age of Anxiety, we are not allowed such blessed assurance of comfort and of ease. For Darwin any art of positive thinking sprang spontaneous from unconscious depths of his being. With us it is a desperate whistling in the dark.

Gone is the Moral Law! Today we are all relativists. At what point in history was it that the blush—and the sense of shame—evaporated from our society? As for the confident assertion that "man can do his duty"—can he? will he? if he never hears the word, if duty itself has become a four-letter word never mentioned in polite company?

Gone, the British Empire! Not in some dignified decline and gradual fall, like that of ancient Rome, but within a few decades.

Gone, the Nice Soft Wife. Still nice, perhaps, and, in approved places, soft. Yet not in the old way. Equipped with ballot, with economic opportunity, with legal liberties and equalities, with functions social and civic and political, hardly can she be expected to devote her entire time to what now perforce must be that secondary thing, a husband.

Gone, the Happy Ending! Not even Americans believe in it any longer. It is dissolved—as Tennessee Williams might be said to prophesy in *Garden District*—in the ancient cannibalistic horrors of a new and savage atomic age. Already, like a portent of doom, there strike on our ears the snarling of the Angry, the whine of the Beat.

But Darwin would go down to the grave with the Moral Law, the British Empire, and the Nice Soft Wife still in attendance upon him. Heaped with high honors, even inheriting gratuitously another's fortune, untroubled by any sense of sin, he would be carried in triumph to Westminister Abbey. Among the pall-bearers, the agnostic Mr. Huxley. Also the agnostic Mr. Wallace. Within the coffin, the agnostic Mr. Darwin, awaiting Christian burial.

But if God is an Englishman, and his religion a tolerant Anglicanism, then even an unbeliever, if he should conduct himself like a gentleman, might hope to achieve, not only in this life but in the life-to-come, a Happy Ending.

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Reporting from Hong Kong

Wire Service Coverage of Communist China

by STANLEY RICH

IT WAS the week before Christmas and all through Hong Kong not a correspondent wasn't struggling with the weighty problem of which of two, three or more pre-holiday cocktail parties he could squeeze in that evening. Around 6:30 the "tipster" telephone calls began. "There's something coming in on Peiping Radio. It might be important. Better come down and take a look." Everyone groaned at Peiping's typical bad timing. Nevertheless the news-agency men rushed to their offices, took a quick look at what had come in so far, and almost immediately began filing. They had no choice. In the press-service world, it is more important to be first than right.

Meanwhile, long after the majority of news-service correspondents had come, cabled and conquered and returned to their evening's festivities, and while the Peiping broadcast was *still going on,* a more fortunate group remained hunched over their desks, laboriously reading and re-reading the interminable incoming document. These lucky few—foreign diplomats and weekly or morning-newspaper correspondents who did not have to be stampeded into action by the threat of competition—realized that the broadcast was indeed "important," probably the most important from Peiping Radio that year. It was the full, 15,000-character text of the Dec. 10 resolution of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee on the "people's communes," a new design for collective living whose dread similarity to George Orwell's *1984* had created apprehension in the Communist and non-Communist world alike. Following its initial and customarily vague resolution of August, this now was the Party's first explicit statement on what the communes were intended to be and how they were intended to work.

While coffee flowed like champagne, these men, on whom depended the understanding of a large readership and the subsequent foreign policies of their governments, searched the still-incoming document for significant clues to developments in China. Only long after the eight-hour transmission of the text had ended did they finally conclude that the Party's latest commune resolution meant exactly what it said, namely: (1) Some cadres had been pushing things too quickly, (2) They should be check-reined while the Party studied progress to date and reached an eclectic choice as to the best commune system for the country as a whole, and (3) —and most important—the communes were there to stay as the "basic social unit" of the New China.

In a sense, the foreign diplomats and a chosen few among correspondents might have saved time and trouble. For next morning news-agency dispatches told the world that Red China chieftain Mao Tse-tung and his awesome commune program had both come a cropper. Headlines blared: "Peiping Slows Down Plan For Communes in Cities." Sub-heads based on the fact that the same Central Committee meeting had approved Mao's decision not to stand for re-election as government chairman, read: "Mao Repudiated By Party."

Back at his consulate desk next day, one weary diplomat was heard to mumble: "Seldom have so few misinterpreted so much to so many." For the truth was that in swinging at that big fat pitch served up by the news agencies, the readers had struck out. This is not intended as a glib analogy. Wire-service coverage of the momentous commune resolution that night, and to a large extent since, had more in common with the colorful but surface writing about America's national pastime than with serious, in-depth political reporting. It was, in fact, a tragedy of errors.

For all its subsequently interesting material, the first two hours of the Peiping Radio broadcast that night were a routine re-affirmation of the Party's faith in the communes as something "fresh as the morning sun" over East Asia. As minutes and edition times agonizingly ticked by, one can see each agency man fretting over whether his opposition had already filed. Suddenly the resolution turned from the general to the particular. It said commune-ization in the cities would have to be postponed until the experiences of the country-side had first been thoroughly digested and appraised. Seizing this as their lead, the agency correspondents filed so hurriedly to New York and London that their stories bounced back and were set up in type in Hong Kong while the broadcast of the resolution text still had another half-

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hour to run! These stories, giving "evidence" that Peiping was "retreating" from its ambitious commune program, made heartening reading to a free world only naturally eager to grasp at any indication that the monolith of Chinese Communism was crumbling. But they contained two appalling omissions. *None* noted the vital fact that the original August resolution had been officially entitled: "On the Establishment of People's Communes *in the Rural Areas.*" *None* mentioned that the official Party newspaper *People's Daily* had directed frequently in the past that commune-ization of the cities should not even be attempted until rural progress had been thoroughly analyzed. Consideration of either of these points would have made it impossible to write a "retreat" lead. So for the newsmen, Out Number One: a misleading story caused by the omission of basic background material.

Once their lead stories were out of the way, the newsmen read further into the text to prepare their "follows." Next significant reference to catch their eyes was the description of a supposedly "proper" commune as a place where cash wages are *not always* abolished, where husbands are *not always* separated from wives, where children are *not always* torn from parents. This was really something to go on! Reporting these implications of excess as proof of failure, the agency men now interpreted the Party resolution not as mere retreat but as defeat. Even had some correspondent reflected that this was really nothing new, that Peiping had been saying consistently since September that each commune would have to experiment with its own form of administration, that reports of commune abuses by over-ambitious cadres had been freely published in the mainland press for the previous six weeks—even so, it would likely have made no difference in his "follow" story. The "row-back" is the anathema of journalism; second stories *must* support the implications of the first. Out Number Two: trapped by their original leads and misreading something old as something new, the correspondents filed more copy that contributed to wishful thinking.

PERHAPS more in the field of journalism than elsewhere, error is almost inevitably cumulative. Two days later, the Sunday edition of one Hong Kong daily ran an eight-column headline: "Reds To Slow Down Commune Programme," followed by: "New Bosses Rule Mao Taking Nation Down 'Wrong Road'." High in the article was the paragraph:

> But one fact is significant: in a country where Mao Tse-tung's name has always been invoked as the fountain of all wisdom and authority, the 15,000-word resolution did not once cite Mr. Mao by name.

How significant this omission was not may be gathered from the fact that neither the Party's original August resolution nor the Provincial Party resolutions which followed ever once mentioned Mao either! Yet Hong Kong newspaper reports such as these were picked up and cabled abroad by foreign news-agency men in the Colony. Was it important that the newspapers quoted were professionally anti-Communist? Was it significant that the latest commune resolution reaffirmed specifically and throughout the Party's faith in every one of Mao's major internal policies? No matter. Substantiating the agencies' first "defeat" stories as they did, these speculative suggestions of Mao's imminent collapse were just too good to be missed. Out Number Three: Using an unverified opinion to support an unbackgrounded conclusion.

All the "mays," "mights" and "could-be's" automatically inserted in the copy by the home desks cannot gainsay that the over-all impression conveyed by news-agency coverage during that fateful three-day period was that the collapse of China's communes was a *fait accompli.* In this particular case, wire-service reporting of Communist China presented a sorry spectacle.

Three outs retire the side in any league. The rightfully cynical sports-page cliché has it that "When a team goes sour, fire the manager!" Journalism is not baseball. But in this case just such a solution might be justified. For the basic blame for mis-reporting, not only on Communist China but on Asia developments in general, must be laid squarely on the operating structure of the news agencies.

One home-office error is minor and could be easily removed. In the worthwhile attempt to infuse new blood into their operations, the news agencies at times (and correctly so) hire youngsters overseas. Less laudably, however, one "Big Three" agency makes this a constant practice because of the handsome dividends in the form of transportation savings. (US to Hong Kong fare: $1,200). If such beginners were supervised and groomed in a large bureau before being sent afield, there could be no complaint. Unfortunately, this practice is the exception rather than the rule. Fledgling correspondents hired abroad are invariably forced to pick up their experience by trial and error. The trial is theirs, the error is passed on to their readers.

Still, even if every foreign correspondent were genius incarnate, it would bring little or no improvement to the generally poor caliber of wire-service reporting in Asia and Southeast Asia. The fatal flaw in news-agency operations is a stubbornly consistent home-office refusal to separate the News and Business departments of their foreign bureaus. By so refusing, the news agencies positively insure that accurate, in-depth reporting of developments requiring continual analysis cannot possibly be achieved.

Even the most unwashed cub learns within a month that his picture of the foreign correspondent as a trench-coated (in earlier days) or tuxedoed (more current) news hawk whose primary job is to get the story and write it is sheer myth. He discovers this the hard way by crashing head-on into the basic theory of news-agency economics which demand that the foreign news bureau must be self-supporting. The foreign bureau must pay for itself

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by selling a World News file (and financial file, and feature file, and photo file, etc.) to local publications. Does a business staff do the job? Not on your life! The super-salesman is none other than our incipient Richard Harding Davis! Roughly 85 percent of his time is spent negotiating contracts and supervising administrative routine. What is worse, the cream of the 15 percent news-time left him must go to meet the World Service requirements of other foreign bureaus which demand that our correspondent first file on the Hong Kong-Caracas soccer match (what would the Latin American editors say if he didn't!) and on the Belgian Embassy third code clerk who was hit by a ricksha (the Brussels newspapers would certainly cancel the service if he missed that one!). With a maximum five-percent time remaining, where does that leave something like Communist China or the "people's communes?"

If it ever really existed outside of Hollywood, the day is past when all a correspondent had to do to get a story was invite the Ambassador to lunch or drop into the nearest bar. The chief necessity for today's journalist is time—time to study, time to learn, time to get into a subject instead of merely on top of it. Yet time is the one gift which the economic structure of news-agency operations abroad will not allow.

THIS problem of time varies inversely with the size of the bureau. Big-city bureaus as in London, Tokyo or Paris can and do employ large staffs. Whether called so or not, they do in effect break down into separate Business and News departments. For the most part costs are met by the income from profitable World Service sales to the multiple and comparatively prosperous surrounding news media. Correspondents here can devote themselves exclusively to news.

But elsewhere, where it matters most, the picture is grim. Most agency staffing in Southeast Asia, where newspapers often can afford to pay only a nominal $20 or $30 a month for a World Service bringing $2,000 or $3,000 in London, consists of "stringers," *i.e.,* local journalists, businessmen, students or government employees who write the news in their "spare time." When the agency actually does maintain a one-man bureau, its hapless correspondent must scrounge for both contracts and news-time lest the home office economize even more by getting a stringer to replace him. It is the reader who suffers. Of course revolutions and such are always covered on an emergency basis. But for informed reporting on day-to-day developments in this so critical area the reader must depend either on part-time businessmen (the "stringers") or on legitimate staff correspondents whom the agencies force into the position of being only part-time newsmen.

Nowhere is the effect of this home-office policy more glaringly apparent than in Hong Kong. American journalists here are unique in that their job is really neither to report on Hong Kong nor to write news. Though barred from physical entry to the mainland their primary responsibility is still to cover the sprawling, threatening complex that is Communist China.

The task is comparable to a Tass man covering the United States from Havana. Yet Hong Kong's contiguity with China, its comparatively ready access to mainland publications, its daily flow of Chinese and international "commuters" to and from Canton, Shanghai and Peiping —all this does make it the logical base, bar none, for a student of China. Contrary to general belief, a Hong Kong correspondent is not working in the dark. China's fantastic news machine—2,000 newspapers, 677 periodicals and a broadcasting network spewing forth 129,000 words a day, some 12,000 of them in English—is actually crammed with revealing detail. Mainland newspapers, for example, had been discussing and outlining the commune program for months before the first official announcement from Peiping! With sufficient time to read and research as much of this wealth of material as possible and to check it against his "commuter" information, the wire-service correspondent in Hong Kong can draw a theoretical but at least *accurately-backgrounded* picture of what's going on in China. But he is not permitted to do so. One news-agency has maintained a one-man Business-and-News bureau here since the end of World War II; the situation is unlikely to be changed so long as that bureau continues to hold its lead in contracts sold to local publications. Another agency recently transferred its Peiping broadcast monitoring facilities to Japan, explaining it was just too expensive in Hong Kong!

In short, the guiding principle of news-agency operations overseas is no longer "All the news" but "All the business." There is no question which comes first.

No one would claim that news agencies must or even should operate at a loss. But when accurate news coverage is sacrificed to profit, then it is time for the agencies to question their methods of operation.

News-agency correspondents in Hong Kong are not individually at fault. They cannot be blamed if their onerous business duties leave them scant time to study and report on what is happening in China. Nor can they be blamed for such short-sighted home-office decisions as having Peiping Radio—their *only direct official contact with the mainland*—selectively relayed to them by newsmen in Japan who, even further removed from the China story, are understandably that much less qualified to judge the significant and sort the relevant from the irrelevant material.

Wire-service reporting of the commune story is only one instance of a type of unbackgrounded, misleading and thus, in essence, erroneous news coverage that is only too prevalent today in Asia and Southeast Asia. Until the news agencies themselves realize that there can be no such creature as a "part-time correspondent" who has to keep an eye on the business and do his writing in his spare time, there will be no improvement.

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Is Inflation the Problem?

by LEON KEYSERLING

THERE HAS NOW been time for the Congress and the citizens to reflect upon the President's State of the Union Message, Budget Message and Economic Report. Thus far, although critics of the Administration's accent on retrenchment in the space age are profoundly disturbed, they have yet to offer an adequate alternative course of action. They know we must do more of many things, and that perhaps the most important of these requires an expanded budget and other expansions of federal responsibility. They also know that ultimately government is supported by the economy and the people, and that therefore a high rate of economic growth or expansion would help to meet our domestic needs and is essential to meet the Soviet challenge.

However, the President insists that programs directed toward these ends would be *inflationary,* would reduce the purchasing power of the dollar, and would do more harm than good. And the sincere opposition, including those in the Congress who must decide upon the budget and other legislation, is not confident enough of its own economic ground to be sure whether the President is right or wrong. *Precisely how to get growth without inflation is our supreme economic problem.* But our economic thinking is not yet readjusted to this purpose.

If we are to think straight on this problem, which has become increasingly urgent since the first Sputnik, we must begin by determining the fundamental purposes of the modern US economy. While a stable price level is highly desirable, a static society may have a stable price level and go down to defeat on many or all fronts. Moreover, a stable price level without more, as during 1922-1929, can lead up to a depression. The great aims of our economy in these times are not to achieve any particular price trend as a be-all and end-all in itself. Instead, our fundamental economic purposes are these:

1. We must call forth the full use of our productive capabilities, including manpower and brains, technology and science, and natural resources. In the current state of our technology, this requires an annual over-all growth rate of about 5 percent after we take up fully the current economic slack. Until then, we need to grow much faster. The faster a nation increases total production, the stronger it becomes in an economic sense, and the better able to do what it needs to do, unless it is burning itself out by going so fast that it depletes its resources. We are in no danger of following the latter course.

2. We must apportion our total national production wisely, in accord with relative priorities of needs, so that we do not get what we need least at the expense of what we need most: for example, more gimcrack gadgets and less defense, international economic cooperation, schools.

3. We must combine economic progress and efficient use of resources with economic justice. To illustrate the first two great purposes might be attained, even while the farm population lived by eating the income crumbs.

Broadly speaking, the significance of price and wage and farm income and profit trends in the private economy, and of public finance and monetary policy in the public area, is whether they facilitate or impede these three fundamental purposes. *They are means, not ends. And if the machinery is tooled to produce these ends, we get less inflation to boot.*

In order to put the President's entire program in perspective, let us look for a moment at how far we have fallen short of our three fundamental purposes since the Korean War.

First, we have failed to use America's full productive powers. The figures which follow are all based upon uniform 1957 dollars, to make the comparisons exact. During the six-year period 1953-1958 inclusive, with recessions more than half of the time and with an inadequate growth rate the rest of the time, the US average annual over-all growth rate was only about 1.3 percent. However, an annual growth rate of about 4.5 percent was needed during that period to absorb our increasing capabilities to produce, in view of a growing labor force and an advancing technology. In consequence, *we lost more than $150 billion in potential national production, and furnished about 10 million man-years less of employment opportunity than we should have.*

Second, pressing national needs have been grossly neglected. Over the six-year period, tax revenues at all levels derived from a repressed economy were $30 billion to $40 billion lower than they would have been in a fully productive economy. Thus, we "could not afford" what we most need.

Third, these trends worked against economic justice. They bore down disproportionately upon all vulnerable groups: the unemployed, the farmer, the low-income family generally, the small businessman. They hurt the

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old people, because we "could not afford" to provide them with enough social security. And these damaging effects of low economic growth were compounded, because *a price inflation which fed the fat and stripped the lean was taking place at the same time.* Any housewife who does the shopping can testify to that.

Now let us look at the causes of this triple default in order to see what went wrong and learn what corrective measures to take. For the six-year period 1953-58 as a whole, the more than $150 billion deficiency in total production resulted from a deficiency of about $17.5 billion in public consumption through public programs, a deficiency of about $96 billion in private consumption through private spending, and a deficiency of less than $40 billion in private investment caused when the other two deficiencies made it futile to continue investment in the expansion of productive facilities.

Despite its seemingly small relative size, the deficiency in public programs of about $17.5 billion really accounted in addition for about $35 billion to $50 billion of the deficiency in private consumption and private investment, because public outlays evoke other outlays. And this default in public outlays was practically entirely on the part of the federal government, because the states and localities were expanding their outlays up to, or in excess of, their limited power to obtain revenues. This must be borne in mind constantly, as one reads the Administration's repeated pleas to turn public programs back to the states and localities.

The deficiency in private consumption did not come about because consumers as a whole spent too little of their incomes and saved too much. On the contrary, the $96 billion deficiency in private consumer spending during the period 1953-1958 resulted from a deficiency of more than $130 billion in consumer income before taxes. Out of this, more than $30 billion was a deficiency in net farm operators' income, and more than $100 billion was a deficiency in the consumer income before taxes of other groups, made up practically entirely of a deficiency in wages.

These deficiencies in private buying power resulted from both governmental and private actions. The inadequate outlays by the federal government for essential public services had an adverse effect upon the whole private economy. Regressive and inequitable tax and monetary policies had similar results. The deficiency in farm income has been attributable to falling farm prices in contrast with rising non-farm prices, due primarily to a national farm policy which has abandoned the farmer to the "free market," while other markets were not "free."

This analysis is essential to an understanding of the cause and cure of the kind of inflation with which we have been plagued in recent years. For it has not been an inflation like that of wartime: it has not happened

"Can't take any chance of being blown overboard"

because of intense pressure against our productive capabilities, or shortages, or a hectic rate of economic growth, or civilian purchasing power in excess of civilian supplies. *The "new inflation" of recent years has occurred "paradoxically" in the face of high economic slack.* And moreover, it has been a selective inflation, with some prices and incomes rising too rapidly, while others were falling too fast, or (in the case of incomes) not rising fast enough.

Now, what has caused this selective inflation—for we have had it—since excessive demand was not a factor? The President has more than implied that the inflation has occurred in large measure because wages have gone up faster than productivity thus increasing production costs per unit and requiring price increases—the "cost-push" theory. This theory misses the real point: the lag in productivity behind wage increase in some instances was not technological, but was due instead to the inefficiencies of operating far below full capacity. And low-capacity operation was certainly not due to "excessive" wages; if wages had gone up less, even relative to productivity, we would have had a still bigger recession. Therefore, the correct remedy for the alleged inflationary gap between productivity and wages would have been—and is—to *lift actual productivity to its technological poten-*

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tial by expanding the economy, not to contract the economy further by holding down wages.

Moreover, in most cases price increases were not due to "cost-push," wages or otherwise, but to excessive price increases relative to costs. The compelling evidence of this is that the excessive advances of prices compared with wages yielded a level of profits feeding an investment boom in plant and equipment recurrently outrunning private and public buying combined. The extraordinarily high profits in 1957 of some of our major industries *which were operating far below full production*, and their exceedingly high profits again now while even further short of full production, are much in point. This applies not only to industrial prices but also to many consumer prices, because the former affect the latter, and because increasing portions of our consumer-service industries are now huge and administer their prices.

These excessive price increases have in part reflected management's over-excited appetite for capital investment funds in the form of profits. But this hunger was not entirely the fault of industry. In part, industry feared with good reason that the spasmodic periods of high-level production would not be sustained in the absence of a nationwide full employment policy, and that industry needed to store up reserves against trouble.

In short, just as an automobile burns more gas per mile when racing at 80 miles an hour *or when dawdling at 13 miles an hour* than when running smoothly at 50, so our economy costs more to operate per unit of production either at the racing 8-percent growth rate of wartime *or at the 1.3 percent average growth rate of recent years* rather than at a 5 percent growth rate. The higher costs of too great or *too little speed* are both inflationary.

THE SPURIOUS CRUSADE

DESPITE these terribly costly lessons, the Economic Report of the President again expresses a determination to check economic growth by the same budgetary and tax and tight-money policies which have done so much damage on all scores thus far. The spurious crusade against inflation remains a crusade, not in the public interest but against adequate outlays for defense, international cooperation and domestic well-being. What are the implications of a continuation of these policies?

While the President's Economic Report hails the speed of our economic recovery, we are "recovering" at a rate insufficient to take up the accumulated slack, or to make full use of the continuing growth in our labor force and in productivity. Thus, some of our bellwether industries, while expanding their production and sales, are not re-employing many people. Unemployment in 1959 may well be nearly as high as in 1958. Looking further ahead, we are likely to "recover" from the most recent recession only to average an annual over-all growth rate in real terms of perhaps 2 percent.

What would this mean, compared with what would happen if we take up the economic slack more rapidly and thereafter maintain a 5 percent annual growth rate? For the seven-year period from the beginning of 1958 through the end of 1964, it would mean a difference of about $400 billion in total national production, and a difference of about 16.5 million man-years in job opportunity. With respect to our national needs, the higher growth rate (in contrast with the lower growth rate) would yield at existing tax rates about $70 billion more, or an average of about $10 billion a year more, by way of public revenues at all levels for domestic and international purposes. *This is the road to a balanced federal budget, accompanied by high enough public outlays to do at home and abroad what needs to be done and to induce a balanced national economy. And for reasons already given, the low growth rate would be more inflationary than the high growth rate.*

SPECIFICALLY, how can we assure the high growth rate and attention to our top national needs, instead of acquiescing in the neglect of both? We are not now in a total war. But we *are* in a dangerous period, far from total peace. And if we apply *with appropriate variations* some of the lessons which World War II taught us about how to mobilize our resources effectively, we shall be more likely to avoid another total war, and at the same time achieve some enormously beneficial domestic results.

In World War II:

1. The government set quantitative goals for total production and employment, based upon absolutely maximum use of resources and subdivided into many types of products and jobs. It set goals for consumption or use, both private and public, to match these production goals. It set goals for the flow of income or purchasing power, to help maintain balance between production (supply) and consumption or use (demand).

2. To make sure that use was in accord with the relative urgency of our national requirements, there was a very detailed "priorities system" covering thousands of items.

3. The whole machinery of national public policy was coordinated and directed toward achievement of these fundamental goals or purposes. The federal budget, including both spending and taxation, was used as the major public instrument in guiding both production and use toward achievement of these fundamentals. Specific *ad hoc* machinery was also used to expand some types of production by incentives toward private expansion of plant or output (or by direct public investment), and to restrain other types of production and use.

4. *In fighting inflation, we did not neglect the fundamental production and priority objectives essential in*

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winning the war. Some said that inflation was a greater danger to the US than Hitler (during the Korean War they said a greater danger than Stalin), but providentially the Administration did not listen to them. Nonetheless, anti-inflation controls included not only high taxation, but also savings programs and direct controls. These were successful, *insofar as we did not look at price and wage and profit trends as ends in themselves, but rather as means for achieving full production and simultaneously providing the nation with what was needed most.*

5. The government was chary of monetary policy to control inflation, because its excessive use defeats fundamental purposes before it checks inflation.

6. The difference between sacrifice and inequity was understood. The government was not placed on the side of those who wanted the people to respond patriotically to the austere challenge but sought to batten at the public's expense.

7. While all essential freedoms were maintained, we did not suffer the delusion that freedom and government were antithetical, or that the great problem of the nation and the world could be solved by having the President tell the farmer, the storekeeper and the laborer that they in their *individual* capacities had the most to contribute. Instead, representatives of our functioning economic groups were consulted in national policy-making.

SPACE AGE ECONOMICS

NOW, HOW much of this should we do today and tomorrow? If we are successful in avoiding war, there would obviously be no draft, no breakup of families, no bloodshed. Nor, short of total war, do I see need for the burdens and vexation of direct price and wage controls, detailed "priorities systems," allocations or rationing, or (with some possible exceptions) special incentive and prohibitory programs.

But while we are not at war—entirely—we are most certainly in the space age, or at least the Russians are. Consequently, our economic policies do need to be as realistic and purposeful, though not as strenuous, as in wartime.

First and foremost, we still need national goals to guide our efforts—although why it takes another Presidential Commission to define them is beyond me. Such a committee cannot take the place of the Executive Branch. The Economic Reports of the President, *as categorically required by the Employment Act of 1946,* should state specific quantitative short- and long-range balanced goals for maximum production, employment, and purchasing power (geared to consumption or use goals)—less detailed as to components than in wartime because the pressures on our resources are less, and more can be left to private adjustments. These goals should point toward national economic growth averaging 5 percent a year *after* the current economic slack is taken up.

It is equally essential that the Economic Reports define what portion of our growing total production and consumption at full resource use should be devoted to those programs which mean most to us as a nation. This does not mean that the federal government would *do* the whole job in all of these priority areas. In national defense, it would do practically the whole job (aside from civilian defense). In education, for example, the Economic Report should appraise how much of the job others can do, what part of the balance the federal government can help others to do, and how much the federal government itself needs to do to fill in the gap.

IN this framework the federal budget should be an instrument toward what a full economy can afford and needs by way of public consumption or use, instead of being adjusted to what a repressed or stricken economy "cannot afford." Federal outlays for calendar 1960, so devised, would be about $10 billion higher than in the President's proposed budget for fiscal 1960, and by calendar 1964 should be about $23 billion higher than the President's proposed 1960 budget, all expressed in comparable dollars. The budget, like goals for the national economy, should be projected over several years in the Economic Report, even if the Congress approves the budget only yearly.

The tax program should be so devised as to help keep private purchasing power in line with the amount of production available for private consumption. It should also impose the tax burden equitably, which really means to improve the distribution of total private purchasing power. If production and consumption goals were properly quantified in the Economic Reports of the President, and if the expenditure side of the budget were framed accordingly, the appropriate tax program would be clear. Such a tax program would result in a balanced budget whenever our resources were being reasonably fully employed, *which should be always.*

The tight money policy should be abandoned, because it prevents adequate economic growth, contributes to inflation and redistributes income unjustly. Monetary policy should be adjusted to the goals in the Economic Report. Essential federal legislative programs include the farm program, basic resource development, social security, housing and protective legislation dealing with such matters as minimum wages, education and health. Foreign economic assistance needs immense expansion.

How should the size of these programs be determined? Not by accident, nor by special-interest pressures, but rather by fitting them into their proper place in a consistent Economic Report and budget which balance our total economic capabilities at full production and employment with a corresponding amount of private and public consumption or use, and with servicing of our

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needs in the order of their importance.

There remains the pressing question of how adjustments within the private economy, as distinguished from direct public action, can best make their needed contribution to the three fundamental purposes I have listed. Price trends and income flows within the "price economy" are machinery toward these ends. Probably a fairly stable price level makes it easier to manage the other parts of the machinery and to maintain a workable balance among its parts, but this may not be true at all times, nor true of all prices at any time. As already indicated, I do not believe that it is now desirable to invoke the direct governmental controls. But if the current neglect should make the direct controls essential to enable us to serve our great purposes in the context of the world challenge, then unfortunately we would need the direct controls.

But I believe that the most useful treatment of this problem would be for the Economic Reports of the President, in addition to setting goals for maximum production, employment and purchasing power (consumption or use), to include also careful short- and long-range analyses of what kinds of income flow in general to the various segments of the economy would be conducive to these fundamental purposes, and what kinds of price-wage-profit policies in general would be consistent with this kind of income flow. The Employment Act of 1946 *calls for this now,* when it says that the Economic Reports should set "needed levels of purchasing power." But the Act is being honored in the breach.

It is particularly important that this identification of "needed levels of purchasing power" (*the very words of the Employment Act*), as well as of "needed levels of production and employment" (also the words of the Act), be undertaken in consultation with private economic leadership. In fact, this consultation is envisaged by the Employment Act; and if not only the will but also the instrumentalities to do this are now lacking, then proper instrumentalities should be devised. For example, the kind of committee proposed in the President's State of the Union message might be made an advisory committee to the President's Council of Economic Advisers, and thus involved in the preparation of the President's Economic Reports or at least the goals therein.

If sufficient attention were directed toward wage-price-profit relationships, and if business were not fearful of alternative periods of boom and bust, *i.e.,* if the government were to carry out its share in the purposes of the Employment Act, private investment would be likely to be regularized at desirable rates of growth. Appropriate tax policies can be helpful toward this end. The broad definition of needed levels of private investment should be included in the maximum production goals under the Employment Act.

To accomplish these purposes, the Economic Reports of the President cannot remain, as they are now, merely another set of *pro-forma* and superficial essays on the state of the economy. This is competently done in many other private and public reports. The Economic Reports are intended to be *great state papers on the economic program of the government attuned to the full economic needs and capabilities of the United States.* Instead of the Economic Report being written to support a President's budget and legislative program derived in a vacuum, the President's budget and his entire legislative program should be derived from an Economic Report which properly quantifies our goals and productive capabilities, identifies for achievement the great priorities of our national needs, and responds to the basic requirements of economic and social justice.

HOW CAN IT BE DONE?

The reader at this point may ask how we are going to get these things done if the President and his Administration will not do them. One answer is that the Economic Reports of the President and his other basic programs are mainly recommendations to the Congress. The President initiates; the Congress decides. If sufficient initiative does not come from the White House, then more initiative is required of the Congress. If the President and his Administration persist in not doing what the Employment Act requires, the joint Economic Committee of the Congress should do it.

I assume that clarifying the economic issues will be helpful to many well-intentioned men and women in leadership positions who have a sense of urgency, who want to do what is best for the country, but who have been misled by some of the astigmatism about inflation which has so blinded the Administration.

An economy functioning satisfactorily, one that serves the three great fundamentals, is less inflationary than an economy responding to repressive and regressive policies which neglect these fundamentals.

Above all, if we now become prey to the notion that "inflation is a greater danger to us than Khrushchev," we shall continue to lose more and more ground in the current world struggle. For, in its essence, the Administration's crusade against inflation is a campaign against the positive things we need to do. It plays upon illegitimate fears instead of raising legitimate hopes. It tells us that we are weak instead of rallying our strength. It sets up economic Maginot Lines instead of developing new economic weapons. It fails to recognize that in our economic policies just as in our international policies, we cannot have safety or stability by standing still.

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BOOKS & COMMENT

A Bit Too Wholesome

by Irving Howe

THE DRIFT toward a mass society has not gone quite so far in England as in America, but it is certainly there: the drift, that is, toward a relatively comfortable, half welfare and half garrison society in which the population grows passive, indifferent and atomized, in which traditional loyalties, ties, associations and groupings become lax or dissolve entirely, in which coherent publics gradually disintegrate, and in which man becomes a mass-produced and pre-fabricated consumer accepting the products, diversions and values that have been mass-produced and pre-fabricated for him.

Culture and Society, 1780-1950, by Raymond Williams (Columbia; $5).

Now this is a social cartoon, not a description of the United States or of England. But it is a suggestive cartoon, for it isolates an aspect of our experience with an incisiveness that no other mode of analysis can match. Nor does it matter that no actual society may ever reach the extreme condition of a "pure" mass society; the value of the theory of mass society lies in bringing to our attention a major historical drift.

Mr. Williams is of course aware of this theory, but like many other English socialists he does not give it much credence. To explain this difference, one is tempted to advance an exercise in the "sociology of knowledge." American radicals have had to face the somewhat chilly consequences of the growth of a mass society in a way that the English have not—or have not yet. It is impossible for an American radical to suppose that the old working class neighborhood can be a major source of political and cultural sustenance; for the English it still seems possible. And while in this country the outer, more flagrant signs of class distinction have recently been softened, England remains a country in which the most controversial and sensitive issues of public life are dramatically associated with symbols of class status and position.

Naturally enough, it is with these issues and symbols that Mr. Williams, as a plebeian democrat, is most concerned, and whenever he touches upon matters where they are decisive, his analysis is excellent. But when he comes to problems that do not yield so readily to an analysis in terms of social class—as neither authoritarianism nor mass society will—then he flounders.

Confront Mr. Williams with the claims of a would-be intellectual aristocrat, and he is quick to react: quick with the intensities of the chapel. But toward those English writers who, while keen enough in their criticisms of industrial capitalism, display a thorough-going authoritarian bias, Mr. Williams shows no comparable intensity of response. He proves oddly gentle when writing about the political thought of Bernard Shaw or the social ideas of D. H. Lawrence, and not because he shows the faintest susceptibility to authoritarianism, either of the left or right, but because he remains so solid an English democrat that he does not appreciate the full thrusting power of the authoritarian ethos. It is a failure of imagination, not of values: he is still too concerned with problems of class in an age of the total state.

Toward Shaw, Mr. Williams is simply indulgent: you will not find much in his book about the Shaw who found it possible to praise the dictators of our time. And in regard to Lawrence, Mr. Williams is evasive. He is right to show us Lawrence the great novelist, Lawrence the profound critic of modern life, even Lawrence the prophet of a new human relationship; he offers a pungent criticism, though still, be it noted, within class lines, of Lawrence's tendency to "rationalize and generalize his own necessary exile, and to give it the appearance of freedom." But where, one waits and wonders, where is the Lawrence whose arrogant and authoritarian mystifications form a dark thread through his later work: a Lawrence that no amount of legitimate appreciation should exempt from critical scrutiny?

What is true for Mr. Williams' treatment of authoritarianism holds equally for his treatment of mass culture. Though, like every other sensitive person of our day, he is disturbed by the debasements of TV, radio and the popular press, he contents himself with the comforting notion that the development of mass communication media involves a multiplication of techniques, accessible to good or evil purposes. He fails to consider—the argument is known to him, but it does not register sufficiently in his consciousness—that the media of mass culture raise new and unique dangers not merely for the hope for a "common culture" but also for the survival of traditional "minority culture."

Mr. Williams sees fully what is bad in mass culture, but has not fully measured the nature of its badness. Thus, he argues that intellectuals, with their inclination to overvalue the word, fail to appreciate the non-literary aspects of the ordinary man's culture: they compare "what is produced for people to whom reading is a major activity with that produced for people to whom it is, at best, minor." The point certainly holds if the comparison is between an intellectual elite and, say, a peasantry or an old-style working class neighborhood in which strong and valuable elements of culture are handed down orally; but it is precisely in the nature of mass culture that reading (or TV-staring and radio-hearing) does tend to become "a major activity," replacing the remnants of genuine folk culture and thereby becoming accessible to a critique in terms of what Mr. Williams calls, a little awkwardly, "the reading artifacts."

AGAIN with apparent plausibility, he argues that the new communication techniques are "at worst neutral"—which is somewhat like saying that the scientific discoveries immediately devoted to making H-bombs are "at worst neutral"—and he then warns us against confusing these techniques with "the uses to which, in a given society, they have been put." But is not the whole socio-technological context in which the mass media appear an inducement to cultural corruption? Had we not better face the possibility

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that these techniques, by the temptations they present for a facile diffusion, lend themselves with peculiar effectiveness to "the uses to which, in a given society, they have been put?"

Nor is it merely a matter of a "given society," a euphemism, as I take it, for capitalism. The debasements of mass culture are to be found in the Communist as well as in the capitalist countries, in those that are industrially backward as well as in those that are advanced. Obviously, the nature and quality of a given society will affect the kind of culture that it has, and a radical improvement in the society is bound to have repercussions in the culture—but that these repercussions would themselves quickly or sufficiently or satisfactorily prove radical is an assumption that we ought to be cautious in advancing.

In a word, I am trying to suggest that the problem of mass culture has to be seen as somewhat less dependent on the nature of our politics and society than Mr. Williams suggests. That is why, for the time being—which may well be the time of my life—I believe the defense and cultivation of a "minority culture" an urgent responsibility. And that is why I could wish that Mr. Williams were a bit more responsive to the notion that human freedom in the coming decades will depend not merely on the kinds of society we have but also upon our capacity to resist all of them.

The nub of the matter is reached in one sentence. "The argument against 'State' power," writes Mr. Williams, "depends, nearly always, on who is the 'State'." It is a familiar socialist remark, and I recognize it well because I have spent a good many years in repeating it. But it is a dangerous fallacy: it is not true: by the middle of the 20th Century we should know better.

Mr. Williams has written a splendid book which will, I hope, find many readers. But the vision of socialism, like the vision of culture, with which his book ends seems to me a bit too organic, a bit too harmonious and, if I may risk misunderstanding, a bit too wholesome. He spreads his culture a bit too common. There is lacking in his outlook a touch of anarchist disaffection that would burst out no matter "who is the 'State'." For even in societies toward which they can be friendly, intellectuals, if they are to remain intellectuals, will probably have to be critics, irritants, "outsiders" living by the values of minority culture.

This is the second of two essays on Mr. Williams' book.

Two Cheers, One Whistle

by T. S. Matthews

THIS is a book "about being an American in these times." An all-embracing, all-important subject—at least it is for Americans, for us who are lucky enough to be members of the little tribe of Benjamin. It might even be of some interest to larger tribes beyond the pale, if they were not so wrapped up in their own concerns. If Mr. Griffth is right (and how I hope he is!) in believing that the United States is catacombed with good citizens, scattered individuals and groups who form a blind and leaderless crypto-majority, his book might conceivably form a rallying-point for a few of them. Say, two percent of the population: four or five million readers. I wish it might be so. Anyhow, for a starter, read it yourself.

The Waist-High Culture, by Thomas Griffith (Harper; $4.)

Mr. Griffth starts by presenting his credentials. He is a native of Seattle, 43, a journalist by training and conviction. After working his way up from police reporter to assistant city editor of the *Seattle Times*, followed by a year at Harvard as a Nieman Fellow, he went to *Time*, where he has been for 15 years, the last seven as Foreign News editor. He has read hard, travelled widely, and has earned a reputation among his fellow-journalists for being shrewd, level-headed and liberal (this part of his credentials I am adding on my own hook). On the whole, he likes his countrymen, and loves the West. In the fall of 1957 he took a six-month sabbatical, went to the south of France and wrote this book, which he had obviously been mulling over for some time.

In spite of its unflattering title, the book is not really an indictment but a defense of the United States. It gives two guarded cheers for American democracy and one low but penetrating whistle. Nevertheless, Mr. Griffith finds so much in the American present to criticize and enough in the American future to fear that he has to pin his faith firmly to the hold-over virtues from the American past. Perhaps this is the best we can do these days; but it tends to give Mr. Griffith's book a kind of see-saw quality, in which the much-enduring fulcrum comes in for some hard wear.

When his see-saw dips on one side it very nearly thumps down to an indictment:

> We are in danger of becoming a vibrating and mediocre people. . . . We are being done in by irrelevancies, leveled by palaver and coated with sham. . . . We must, then, seriously ask ourselves whether our society, despite its deceptive vitality, has not entered a parabola of decline, less and less able to cope with what it must face. . . . We are moving forward at twice the speed of sound but half the speed of sense.

Egalitarianism, "the pull of the profitable middle"—with its deadly levelling of product and performance—the fragmentation of modern Americans into ignorant, helpless or dependent cogs and specialists: Mr. Griffith finds these dangerous ingredients combining to form an American cultural smog.

All the same, these statements, even when Mr. Griffith puts them in the form of complaints, are really questions—questions which he feels bound to raise but to which he resolutely refuses to give a final answer, which he implies cannot or must not be answered yet, except by a stout denial that our follies have been criminal—*e.g.*, "our mistaken trust [in Soviet Russia] may condemn us as unsophisticated but does not dishonor us. We have shortcomings to answer for, but not Hungarys"—and by a dogged faith in the unfinished American experiment. "Our mold has never cooled, our metal never hardened. . . . What I find most encouraging about American life today is the amount of discontent with it."

Mr. Griffith's book has many virtues: good humor, thoughtfulness, fairness, occasional trenchancy. The book is a self-evident testament to the same virtues in its author. And as a good American, the dream of what his country might and should be impels him to a final eloquence:

> Sometimes I dream of a land where

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patriotism is not considered a superiority to others but a pride in being the hospitable center of the best from everywhere; where differences in color and race are not falsely denied but make a competition in being the best; where justice inhabits the courts, wisdom the legislatures and honor the markets; where duty is followed but in no dull way and pleasures are lighthearted; where the last is not least and the highest is not proud; where grab is despised and giving prized; where trust is unfeigned, knowing it will not be disappointed; where tranquillity is to be found, but not torpor, and raucous variety also has its place; where weaknesses are not denied but excellences are exalted; where diversity roams free, and the unity of the dour and the carefree, the homely and the favored, the comfortable and the restless is in their unafraid belief in each other's freedom; where men are not angels but do not make a business of being devils; where nobility is not mere respectability and virtue does not produce a snigger; where the clang of work and the clamor of play attest to the common health; where enemies cannot reach us because our merit, and not our guns or our propaganda, has won the world to our side. . . . It is a very disturbing dream.

It is a disturbing book—not least because it ends, as it must, in an honest sigh.

"A Two-Legged Animal Without Feathers"

by David Spitz

ONE of the earliest recorded definitions of man is that given by Plato, who defined him as a two-legged animal without feathers. The absurdity of this definition was dramatically illustrated by Diogenes, who plucked a cock and brought it into the Academy, saying, "This is Plato's man." Whereupon the attribution was amended to read, "With broad flat nails."

It is not altogether clear that we have come very far in our understanding of man from these specious definitions. We differ as to whether man makes history or is simply molded by it, whether human nature is constant or evolving, whether man has an end other than nutrition or reproduction, and if so what this end might be. We are not agreed, that is to say, on the answers to just about all the questions that constitute an inquiry into the nature and destiny of man.

What is distinctive of our time is that some among us now seek to answer these questions not through the traditional modes of inquiry—history and philosophy—but by recourse to newer and currently fashionable disciplines, namely, psychoanalysis and the behavioral sciences. It is the signal merit of these books that they make abundantly clear the inability of these disciplines, especially of psychoanalysis, to fullfill the Socratic command, Know thyself.

The behavioral sciences cannot attain this knowledge because, as Mrs. Lynd properly notes, they do not take historical change into account seriously. They focus on the particular historical setting of the phenomena they describe, ignoring or minimizing the temporal dimension. And because they are non-historical, even anti-historical, their empirical findings and the "laws" or generalizations derived from such findings are at most valid only for particular social structures. And it is, or ought to be, a commonplace that the study of man, of man as humanity, cannot adequately be encompassed by the study of existing man, or of man in selected contemporary societies.

Now, to know oneself as distinct from having an opinion of oneself; to know the whole of oneself rather than to stumble (in Hume's terms) on some particular perception or other; to know oneself not only as one is and might become but as he ought to be—all this is to embark on a philosophic and historical rather than a psychological enterprise. For it requires knowledge of the values that constitute man, and such knowledge can be vouchsafed, if at all, only by a study of man as man transcends, even while he resides in, particular historical epochs. To know oneself is to know both man in general and oneself as a particular man, both man as a unique individual and man as he relates to other men, to his community, to humanity.

When we speak, therefore, of the loss of identity, we can only mean that one is lost because the terms in which he had conceived of himself and his place in the world have proved illusory. He can no longer relate himself to other men in any coherent or meaningful way. He cannot *understand* himself, or the totality that is his world. Of what avail is it to him, then, to turn to the psychoanalyst, who is neither historian nor philosopher and who may himself hold a distorted image of reality?

For Allen Wheelis, who is himself a psychoanalyst, the answer is regrettably negative. This is not simply to be accounted for by the technical limitations of psychoanalysis as a method of scientific investigation—*i.e.*, by the absence of controls, the many variables, the uniqueness of each analytic situation, the impossibility of exact measurement, and the like. It is rather to be explained by the more important fact that psychoanalysis cannot uncover an identity that is not there. Building on Riesman's distinction between the inner-directed and other-directed personality, Wheelis argues that the analyst today is faced with a new and insoluble problem. For while the man who came to the analyst some decades ago was (because an inner-directed man) a man with identity, so that the job of the analyst was to help him through insight to strip away the repressions that cloaked this identity, the man who comes to the analyst today is (because an other-directed man whose other-directedness has failed him) a man without identity, so that to strip away his repressions is to disclose a void. The consequence is that contemporary man asks the psychoanalyst to do what he cannot do, to become a magician, to give him an identity, to give him a coherent sense of self.

But this is precisely what the analyst is not qualified to do, for psychoanalytic treatment is a technique of investigation and not a way of life. Psychoanalysis can expose a pattern of values provided such values are repressed; but values, Wheelis insists, are not likely to be found in the unconscious. It is rather the other way round: identity, values,

The Quest for Identity, by Allen Wheelis (Norton; $3.95). *On Shame and the Search for Identity*, by Helen Merrell Lynd (Harcourt, Brace; $5.75).

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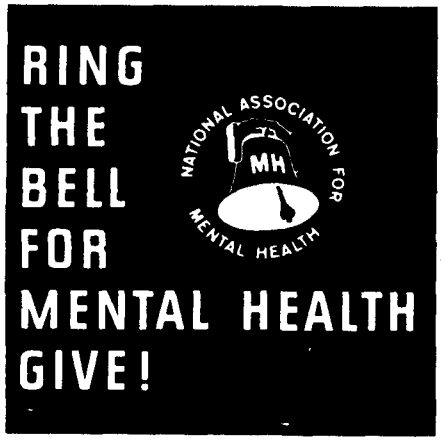
a philosophy of life are the agents for the repression of other elements of mental life, of impulses, fears, defenses, anxiety. Thus,

> . . . To undertake psychoanalysis in quest for identity is to pursue an illusion. What one achieves is not identity, but a more sensitive awareness of thoughts and feelings. Since psychoanalysis provides no goals, this extended awareness is likely to be used for the furtherance of the same old mode, namely adjustment. What gets reinforced is precisely that from which one wished to escape, the domination of life by the process of keeping in step.

One may question many of the elements in Wheelis' argument without, I think, having to negate his central thesis. Clearly, the easy dichotomy between inner-directed and other-directed man cannot be sustained: Riesman himself was careful to emphasize that direction in *both* cases comes from outside and is simply internalized at an early point in the life-cycle of what he calls the inner-directeds.

But the more important objections are: (a) that no man is completely an inner-directed or other-directed man but always a mixture of both; consequently, what may be involved is not so much the decline of the superego (as Wheelis believes) but the diffusion, especially in our somewhat pluralistic society, of that superego among many new and perhaps conflicting authorities; (b) that while this classification may be more properly applied to historical periods or to social groups than it is to individuals, the other-directed man (as Tocqueville saw) was prominent even in early 19th-Century America, and I am inclined to think everywhere and at all times; consequently the task of the analyst was scarcely less difficult decades ago than it is today; and (c) that even where one has a set of values, a philosophy of life, he may still not readily respond to therapy; for what often produces a moral crisis and consequent breakdown is not simply the lack of a philosophy but the discovery that one's philosophy is deficient, that it is inadequate to deal with the new moral perplexities confronting him. Hence, the limitations of psychoanalysis with respect to the quest for identification remain.



They are in fact compounded by the analyst's reaction to his consequent dilemma: for if he cannot help his patient to realize his own identity or at least to remove neurotic obstacles to such realization, he must either quit in futility or recognize that while he must do what he can to help his sick patient, he can't do very much.

SINCE, as Mrs. Lynd points out, the analyst's job is to produce a fundamental change in personality, to break down one identity and replace it by another, the analyst commonly intrudes his own bias by seeking to produce an identity that he (the analyst) considers desirable. And this, quite often, means the adaptation of his patient's personality to accepted social norms rather than the development of that understanding and courage which enables the patient to deviate in his own way from such norms.

The analyst also, Wheelis argues, abandons his science. Instead of constantly re-examining his theory and technique in the light of clinically observed events, he becomes a true believer, maintaining and even decorating the house that Freud built and opposing anyone bent on remodeling. His criterion of truth ceases to be experience and becomes "the book." But because there is so much in experience that is contingent and mysterious, the analyst who thus strains at the absolute, who rather than live with some fundamental uncertainties takes refuge in old dogmas, becomes not an investigator but a pilgrim. "In losing his doubts he has lost his open mind."

How, then, is identity to be sought? Only, Mrs. Lynd suggests, by focusing on shame rather than on guilt in our psychoanalytic theory. For while guilt is concerned with discrete acts that involve the transgression of specific codes and thus calls for the substitution of specific right acts for specific wrong acts, shame is concerned with the over-all self and involves the failure to reach an ideal. It calls for a total rather than a partial response and therefore requires an awareness both of oneself and of external reality.

For Wheelis, two things are required. First, recognition by the psychoanalyst that the suffering of men, not his analytic theory and technique, is the fundamental reality, and that while he cannot hope to provide a solution he can, through creative insight and intimacy, offer some help. Second, and more important, realization by all men that identity is not to be recaptured but newly created and achieved. We can no longer, Wheelis argues, seek identity by returning to values derived from old absolutes—whether of God or Freud or Marx; for while values determine identity, it is the confusion of values and the impossibility of resolving the conflict among values that constitutes the crisis of man at the source. We must rather seek value and meaning through participation in the activities of life itself, in what Wheelis (following Dewey) calls "the instrumental process," a science of method rather than of goals; for only a social process of which the individual is a part, to which he contributes, and with which he can identify, enables man to survive his individual extinction.

IT IS CLEAR, of course, that Wheelis imputes to "the instrumental process" a primacy of value not unlike that which he decries in the absolutism of "the institutional process," which (as he defines it) asserts the existence of a social reality superior to the individual, declares that this social entity alone has meaning, and holds that an individual life has significance only as it finds a place and an identity in this larger whole. Wheelis, on the contrary, affirms the superior claim of the individual. He has a conception of the good, the significant, man as one who is rational, tolerant, and committed to free inquiry. He consequently sees the quest for identity as a search for rather than an acceptance of ordained values.

Whether man *can* in fact live with the uncertainties of what are then at best tentative truths is an open question. But no one committed to the cause of reason will dispute his insistence that men *ought* to govern themselves not on the basis of received notions but on the firmer, if less comfortable, foundations of rational thought.

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Capote, Mailer and Miss Parker

It is simply not true, as it has been claimed, that television is doing away with the art of conversation. On the contrary, television is making better conversationalists of us all, for in its presence, as in the presence of any bore, we always rather surpass ourselves. The most trite and banal remark will take on, with Mr. Parr in the room, an air of the most extraordinary originality and significance. It is very rare indeed that the conversation is allowed to lag long enough for the set to get two sentences in edgewise. I therefore don't expect many people will believe me when I say that recently almost two hours were spent, on the part of myself and three other accomplished talkers, in rapt and utter silence before a television screen.

What we watched was "Open End," a discussion program so named because of its indefinite duration: it stays on the air as long as its guests and moderator, David Susskind, want it to. That evening the guests were Truman Capote, Norman Mailer and Dorothy Parker. The shape the discussion assumed was that of a debate betwen Mr. Capote and Mr. Mailer who belong, broadly speaking, to two traditionally opposed schools of literary thought and practice. One might think of the James-Wells debate, for Mr. Capote takes the distinctly Jamesian view of the novel, while Mr. Mailer, though you could hardly call him a disciple of H. G. Wells, does share some of that writer's tendency to view the novel as a means toward other ends. The debate got underway when someone mentioned The Beat Generation.

Mr. Mailer was very well informed on the subject. He made it clear that he himself was not a Beatster, since he had already given his allegiance to a group known as the Hipsters. But he liked what the Beatsters were doing. "It's something entirely new," he said. "It has no known tradition behind it. It's broken clean away from the Judeo-Christian tradition. It's so new, in fact, that it hardly exists yet."

"That has been my impression," Mr. Capote said. He commented on the difficulty he had reading the Beat novels. He had tried but he had been unable to finish any one of them. None of these people have anything interesting to say," he observed, "and none of them can write, not even Mr. Kerouac." What they do, he added, "isn't writing at all —*it's typing.*"

"And it's all so dreadfully old-fashioned," Miss Parker put in. "It's all been *done.*"

"I'd like to know why they carry on the way they do," Mr. Suskind said. "All the alcoholism, dope-addiction, sexual excess, *debauchery*—what do they mean by it?"

Mr. Mailer explained. It was a form of *protest.* What, you see, they were trying to accomplish by all this sensuality was to get back to something modern man is in serious danger of losing sight of—the senses. And their extreme narcissism is also a very good thing—it helps them to *grow.*

"Yes," Mr. Capote said, "but what has this got to do with *writing?*" Writing to him meant discipline, while what Mr. Mailer was talking about meant just the opposite: self-indulgence. I have no objection, he said, to these people locking themselves up in their rooms and doing their typing. But you can hardly call the result art. He said it was important to keep art distinct from therapy. "There *is* a difference, you know."

The discussion presently shifted to some pre-Beat writers. E. M. Forster was mentioned and declared by Mr. Capote to be THE greatest writer living today. Mr. Mailer said he admired Forster too, though "I must say, I find Mr. Capote here *far* the more exciting writer. He excites me far more." (The camera shifted to Mr. Capote, who buried his face in his hands, and giggled.) "No, I mean that," Mr. Mailer protested.

"What others writers excite you?" Mr. Susskind asked Mr. Mailer. Can you name some writers that you could say have changed your life?"

"Yes, I can think of two offhand. Dos Passos and James T. Farrell, particularly his *Studs Lonnigan* trilogy. A tremendous book, tremendous. These other writers (Eudora Welty and Katherine Ann Porter) are all very well in the small areas they've carved out for themselves, but Farrell and Dos Passos—they're much bigger, much more exciting."

Mr. Capote said that, being a practicing novelist, he found it hard to become "excited" by books. His reading tends to be a quite businesslike affair. He is always interested in what the writer is "doing"—how he constructs his plot, characters, paragraphs, his use of words, etc. This of course, he went on to say, was not a procedure he was urging on everybody. On the contrary, many writers, were they to become conscious of such things as style, structure and language, would never write at *all!*

"That's right," Mr. Mailer said. There were many writers, he imagined, who if they did nothing for six months but study one book, they would only learn one—at most two—things from the experience.

Mr. Susskind asked Miss Parker (who is currently *Esquire* magazine's book reviewer) what she thought of the fiction that came her way. Miss Parker said she found it appalling. She was especially distressed by the sex scenes. "They're all the same!" She wondered why most of the books got published in the first place.

Mr. Capote sensibly explained that the books got published because the publishers had to fill their annual lists. If only good books were printed, then there wouldn't be any publishing industry. He observed that at any given time in any given country there is always only a very small number of first-rate writers, a situation that he, personally, had nothing against. He cited as present day examples Nabokov (he loved *Lolita*) and Pasternak (he did not like *Dr. Zhivago,* though he acknowledged the author to be a notable "international writer"). Earlier he had mentioned J. D. Salinger as a writer he admired and also as a writer he was surprised that the members of the Beat Generation should admire, since they exercised such care in not learning anything from him.

"What upsets you?" Mr. Susskind asked toward the close of the evening. "What things in contemporary life disturb you most?"

Miss Parker said she was disturbed

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INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

David Dubinsky, *President*

MEMO TO: Gilbert A. Harrison, Editor
The New Republic

FROM: Gus Tyler, Director,
ILGWU Training Institute

Subject:
A REPORT AND APPEAL TO THE YOUNGER GENERATION

Last year, we ran an announcement in your magazine telling of a job opportunity with a real challenge. Friends of mine asked: "And who will answer that kind of an ad? This isn't the '30's. This is the age of conformism, apathy, and get-rich-quick!"

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by many things: by Injustice, Intolerance, Smugness, Stupidity. . . . When asked to give a specific instance, she said: "Segregation. I'm *very* disturbed about that."

Mr. Capote nodded and related how when he was in Russia he had no trouble in answering any of the Russians' criticisms of America, but when segregation was brought up, "I couldn't say a word. There just wasn't anything to say."

"I *do* hate injustice," Miss Parker said.

Mr. Mailer said that he, for his part, was deeply disturbed about the creeping paralysis of tepid conformity overrunning the country. He was very voluble on the subject.

Mr. Susskind presently asked Mr. Capote if *he* was disturbed by tepid conformity.

Mr. Capote replied that he wasn't.

A FEW WORDS now about the Cast. At first one was somewhat put off by the appearance of both the men. Mr. Mailer, a tall, spare, rather handsome young man, affects a beard—the kind that they're wearing in Cuba these days. Mr. Capote's weird good looks are well enough known to readers of his book-jackets; his voice and inflections are, similarly, a little terrifying. Although one soon ceased to be conscious of any of these trifles, one may well have been struck, at some point or other, by the disparity between what the writers appeared to be and what in fact they *were*. Mr. Capote may *look* effete, but he is not: his mind is vigorous and extremely able. He speaks slowly, often stops to choose his words, and makes every word count. What he says invariably makes excellent sense. His sensibility also proved to be remarkable. He demolished Mr. Mailer's arguments at every turn, but he never "scored." He seemed always keenly aware, as few panelists ever are, that this was a social and public event, as well as a debate, and that accordingly he must see to it that Mr. Mailer not be made to feel uncomfortable or to look like a fool. Miss Parker, who is no longer (if in fact she ever were) the "acid wit" of the stories about her, contributed little to the proceedings, but she made a very agreeable impression and reminded one vividly at times of Eleanor Roosevelt.

JANET WINN

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ART

Schmeerkunst and Politics

More complex and more interesting than the paintings themselves are the explications, theologies and cosmogonies occasioned by that body of painting known as abstract expressionism, action painting, tachism or the New York school, and which includes among its chief practitioners the late Jackson Pollock, Mark Rothko, Willem de Kooning, James Brooks, Franz Kline, Philip Guston and others.

The typical work of each of the above named artists is instantly recognizable as his own, though it is not so easy to tell one example from another. The work is also readily describable in simple English, though not only is this almost never done by its admirers, but when straightforward description is attempted, this is usually resented by the admirers. The reaction is curious. To be sure, any lover understandably resents an objective description of his beloved, for such a description is bound to miss the whole point of the exquisite creature's existence. But that traditional resentment is particularly out of place in connection with an art which has as a virtue "unapologetic materialism." That phrase of Sam Hunter's about Pollock I take to refer to the insistence upon paint—or sand and gravel—as the primary material in a painting.

Positive values in the new painting are all isolated and exaggerated presentations of values that have existed in many previous ways of painting. Texture, space, an awareness of the paint surface and for that matter the supreme contemporary virtue, an awareness of the act of painting visible in the finished product, all these elements of painting may be found in painters from Duccio to Picasso. In most earlier work these specific values were subordinated to larger aims of the painter. Today they have become aims in themselves. Such concentration is a perfectly defensible course for a painter to take. The values themselves, however, get obscured by the metaphysics constructed around the new painting.

The basic metaphysical point about abstract expressionism is also an old insight—a work of art should not mean but be. Having insisted on this truism and applied it with crude literalness, the exegetes of the new painting proceed to write volumes on the meaning of the pure beings of paint and canvas.

One of the more popular meanings found in Pollock and others of the present generation, was found earlier in the Fauves, the Cubists, Dada and the Surrealists. This is the decline and fall of the West. These vital young men, it is held, could not paint so outrageously if the times were not out of joint. The world is going to hell: our artists paint hellish pictures. In Pollock's painting, writes John Berger in the *New Statesman,* "one can see the disintegration of our culture . . . the consequences of his living by and subscribing to all our profound illusions about such things as the role of the individual, the nature of history, the function of morality."

One can; obviously, Mr. Berger can. One can also see simply the disintegration of a painter or a group of painters. I don't know about Mr. Berger, but I never voted for Pollock to be my symbol and representative in my hour of disintegration. I think it was Chesterton who wrote to Eliot, "*You* may end with a whimper, but *I* shall end with a bang."

Then there is the rhetoric of space, when Levine's derisive "Space cadets" for the whole movement. Parker Tyler, an *Art News* rhetor, writes, "Pollock's extreme style is a model of the astronomic universe as it looks in the eye of a super-telescope. This explains why the principle of a continuously definable abstract space—carried further by him than by anyone else—is at the other pole from that of conventional continuity of space . . . Pollock's deep feeling for the existence of voids paradoxically accounts for the rich physicality of paint with which he has cemented the Loneliness of the Universe."

Prose structure has superceded paint structure.

Finally, there is the burlesqued existentialism of the sacred *act* (it has to be italicized) of painting. The only truly free gesture left us is the gesture of the painter in painting and so on for many pages. This shifts the focus from the product to the process as in schoolboy sports: "It's how you play the game." The change of painting to one of the performing arts has been marked by an endless *Art News* series on painters in process and by the French painter Mathieu's more or less public performances. Again noteworthy is the adolescent literalness with which ancient catchwords are applied. The unreasoned act of violence that is the *act* of painting makes its prior appearance in French and Russian novels which, as works of art, are highly reasoned objects.

No one can object to painters amusing themselves with the chance flow of paint nor to critics acting as tea-leaf readers if they find that amusing. What is objectionable and what is the most interesting aspect of the whole situation is the strident insistence that abstract expressionism is the one permissible manner of painting. As a corollary, it is insisted that the critic's duty is to advance such painters and to ignore or to crush all others.

Behind this lies a laudable patriotism. Abstract expressionism is seen as America's long awaited contribution to art. It is exported as such in the exhibitions of the Museum of Modern Art's International Council. The Americanism of the new movement is disputed by European critic Michel Seuphor, who says it is Kandinsky all over again and was born in Munich around 1912. At any rate the patriotic ardor is at the pitch that produces high tariffs and America First. The most recent variant of the patriotic appeal is the liberal appeal addressed by Thomas B. Hess, executive editor of *Art News,* to this journal: if you go for "advanced" political thought, you must go for "advanced" painting.

The New Republic's editors replied that they see no connection between art and politics, at least in terms of interlocking commitments. I disagree. In the exaltation of an undefined Americanism as a supreme value, in the preference for simple existence to any meaning, and in the cherishing of sincerity without regard to results, I find abstract expressionism and its prophets to be a splendid artistic equivalent of Eisenhower Republicanism in politics. Which called the other into being, I can't guess. But they arrived in the public consciousness together and together, I like to think, will softly and suddenly vanish about two years from now.

Frank Getlein

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RADIO

Gabble, Gabble, Gabble

UNTIL some weeks ago, when a fire destroyed my television antenna, I was dimly aware that radio lingered profitably on, its heroines swamped in seas of trouble, and its disc jockeys tirelessly amusing the younger set. I was not aware that by the same un-named law that causes mass media to exaggerate the wishes of its audiences to the point of burlesque, radio has become a caricature of its listeners. It is like a teen-ager chewing gum, listening to the phonograph, talking on the telephone, studying, scratching, looking out the window, and all the time thinking about something else. But in radio, this undifferentiated tickling of the senses is stepped up to a mad assault. I speak of stations in the Los Angeles area and the advance reply to the accusation that California is *different,* I only ask *how different?*

The disc jockeys do everything at once. They cheer and whistle during the commercials, and talk during the records; the chatter is syncopated with taped screams, chuckles, crashes and cackles of mad laughter. The news is screamed over stentorian sound effects. If there has been an accident on the Freeway, we hear it, with a skid, a crash and glass tinkling on the pavement. An arresting electronic sound, possibly a Hammond organ with its tubes scrambled, roars the news off the air. A rasping crackle, the sound we are told, of radioactivity in the air we breathe, brought to you courtesy of your neighborhood . . . Click!

The disc jockeys sound like a kennel full of barking dogs.

Of all of this, no note, scream, chuckle or news item occupies the air long enough to register before the next sound sweeps it away. In this, perhaps radio is only an amplified echo of what is going on in the society at large. There is too much to read, hear, see; we are deluged with communication. The faint distractions of Muzak are laid over our lives like aural snow, softening and blurring the outlines of everything we see and hear. Beethoven is played as background music for cocktail parties. In all this nibbling at our consciousness it is becoming more and more difficult to pay attention, or to make oneself heard over the din. It becomes difficult not to shout, to exaggerate, to condense opinion to fact, state questions as demands, to grow shrill, and finally to forget entirely what it is we started to say. In the rush, the news item becomes a mere symbol for the news story (a stage newspapers passed long ago) and now only the crash of the accident is heard. We think, if we think at all, ah! one of those happened again! And pass on.

In radio, the listeners' attention has apparently deteriorated to the point that they can be held only by a sort of shimmer of meaninglessness. The moment the pace slackens, it is punctuated with a scream. The beast's head snaps up, with the deadened remnant of a reflex that once had a use.

No one can respond at this souped-up level for long without growing numb, One wonders how many are eating, fighting or making love, and using the radio as a kind of screen, as newspaper writers use the noise of the city room to shut out distraction. I suspect the worst—that it merely degrades the sense experience for most people, screening out not distraction but the thought. Their listening is a drug that helps them evade strong emotion or full commitment of any kind that might enlighten the pall of gentility over their lives, or worse, reveal to them that they are terribly, terribly bored. I think with horror of the millions thundering along at 60 miles per hour in their 300 horsepower cars, smoking, their minds snug in the disc jockey's anaesthetic cocoon, secure even from the realities of driving with automatic shift and power steering.

Cunningham and Walsh, an advertising agency, has spent several years watching a townful of people in New Jersey, and reports that about 20 percent of the average person's waking hours are spent watching television, and an appreciable share of the rest listening to the radio. I suppose the sponsors, who pay the bills for all this, listen with full attention, and imagine that everyone else does too. It does not seem to occur to them to have their telephone surveys ask not only what channel people have switched on, but whether anyone is really watching it, and if so, whether he likes it.

WHEN the radio jockeys get around to playing a record without shouting at it, some of what can be heard is reasonably reassuring about teen-agers. Rock & roll is about as complex musically as a dripping faucet, but once in a while the lyrics touch near the actual experience of people, and that way lies folk art. I give you only a snatch of the lyrics of a chant called "Yakkity Yak!"

> Take out the garbage and the trash,
> or you don't get no petty cash!
> Tell your hoodlum friends outside
> you ain't got time to take a ride.
> Yakkity yak! Don't talk back!

It comes through the verbal smog with a pungent, refreshing smell, like garbage.

FRANK R. PIERSON

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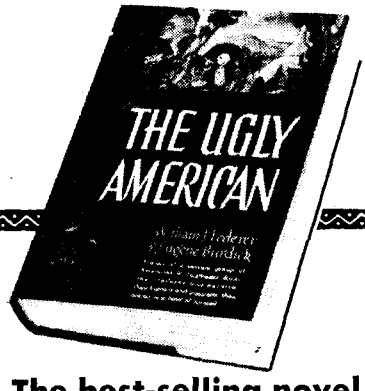

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Notes on Contributors

T. S. MATTHEWS, formerly an editor of this journal and later of *Time,* is the author of a new book, *The Sugar Pill.* DAVID SPITZ is visiting professor of government at Cornell and the author of *Democracy and the Challenge of Power.*

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Correspondence

(Continued from page 3)

the liberal journals which he mentions should show sympathy for any enterprise just because it claimed "dedication" and "originality." These are not enough; by themselves they do not assure excellence. "Dedication" can be a pose to cover egoistic compulsion, persistent auto-suggestion. Nor is originality simple: it may be a self-conscious effort to be different; and affectation; a planned perversity.

Why should *The New Republic* endorse an enterprise simply because it claims "originality" and "dedication": krebiozen? battery additives? large glass boxes substituted for architecture? cancer cures? *The New Republic's* policies of exposing stale and inert ideas, ridiculing official pomposities and propaganda, encouraging, with realistic good sense, overdue political reforms do not commit it to endorsement of a movement which substitutes claims for satisfying and sound performance which states its claims in ambiguous agglomerations of emotion-charged words that could be clarified only by a regiment of semanticists. They confirm the growing distaste and boredom that so many liberal and open-minded observers feel for much of contemporary art.

ARTHUR UPHAM POPE

Warren, Conn.

". . . a vicious criticism"

BEING interested in the one field in which the US is acknowledged by European intelligensia to be culturally pre-eminent, that of pioneering contemporary "aesthetic kinesthesia" in the graphic arts, I protest what seems to me a vicious criticism of American abstract expressionism . . . Does it not make sense to you that abstract expressionism, pioneered in this country, is perhaps the most concrete symbolic expression of creative freedom in Western concepts of the value of individuality in contrast to those of Eastern Communism?

LEN LYE

New York, N. Y.

". . . totally ignorant of Zen"

FRANK GETLEIN'S piece on Schmeerkunst reveals that the reviewer is totally ignorant of Zen. Getlein assumes that sense makes more sense than nonsense, a thoroughly un-Zenic defiance of logic as perceived by intuitive illogic. The critic's deification of the rational can only lead down the *cul-de-sac* of human communication: a thoroughly reactionary institution born of man's desire to relate to others rather than to none, especially to himself.

How, in your advanced magazine in this advanced age, does a critic dare to discuss the mysteries of the commonly nonunderstandable in sentences that parse. Your great error, it is obvious, lies in publishing a magazine you expect people to read.

GUS TYLER

Glen Cove, Long Island

". . . a blast of clear air"

EDITOR HESS of *Art News* (*NR*, Jan. 26) overturns his own argument when he contends *New Republic* is not interested in ideas (of all things, political ideas!) . . . I hope Hess' scattered charges of naïveté, provincialism, academicism, non-ideation, and reaction do not daunt Frank Getlein. His comments are a blast of clean air which dispells a lot of the murky pretentiousness that surrounds abstract expressionism in art.

PATRICK GROFF

San Diego, California

► *Forced Segregation?*

SIRS:

I WOULD LIKE to express my feelings on the pro-segregation advertisement that originally appeared in *The New York Herald-Tribune* and was reproduced in your January 26 issue. In the advertisement, the committee stated that the relationships between Whites and Negroes were based on customs which were the product of many years of experimentation. But has the South ever tried experimenting with integration?

The committee explains that each of these customs was regulated by each community. Why, then, are the vast majority of segregation laws state-wide? The question is asked, "is forced integration the answer?". No, it isn't. But is forced racial segregation? I don't think so.

JERRY FISHKIN

Van Nuys, California

The New Republic welcomes communications from its readers in regard to subjects of current interest. Those of 300 words or less lend themselves to publication more readily than longer letters.

► *Drive the Rascals Out*

SIRS:

ARE WE not confronted with a situation dramatically comparable with that which the British people faced in the spring of 1940 when a weak, vacillating, fumbling government was repudiated in the House of Commons to the cry of "In the name of God, go"?

At this most critical juncture when an overwhelmingly superior hostile power abroad announces its intention to "bury" us, we are not encumbered by an administration which is bankrupt in ideas, vision, and courage and by a President whose self-proclaimed goal for his final two years in office is to lay heavy, restraining hands on the Budget. To me the conclusion is self-evident: America's survival is dependent on the removal of Eisenhower and Nixon and their replacement by an emergency, national administration. This must be done even at the cost of rough-hewing some fine points of constitutionalism.

I should like to hear what other readers may think about this point.

RICHARD A. GRAY

Hobart, Indiana

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Go by Freighter—the pleasant way to travel

When the travel editor of the Christian Science Monitor saw a copy of "Travel Routes Around the World," he wrote: Many fascinating travel booklets pass over this desk in the course of a year but the one that arrived the other day so interested this department that it cost the office several hours of work in order that we might absorb its contents. The booklet is entitled "Travel Routes Around the World" and is the traveler's directory to passenger-carrying freighters and liners. In no time at all you find yourself far out to sea cruising along under tropical skies without a care in the world. You find yourself docking at strange ports and taking land tours to those places you long have read about. Most interesting of the vast listings of ships are the freighters which carry a limited number of passengers in quarters comparable to the luxury offered in the so-called big cruise ships which devote most of their space to passengers.

The booklet first of all answers the question: What is a freighter? The modern freighter, says the booklet, ranks with the de-luxe passenger vessels so far as comfort and accommodations are concerned.

LARGE ROOMS WITH BEDS

It is important to realize that in most cases today, freighter passengers are considered first-class passengers, although the rates charged are generally on a par with either cabin or tourist-class fare. Most passenger-carrying freighters, to quote the booklet, have their private bath and shower, and these cabins offer beds, not bunks. The rooms are generally larger than equivalent accommodations aboard passenger ships, and the cabin of a modern freighter is sometimes even twice as large as first-class cabins on some of the older passenger ships. It goes without saying that your room is on the outside, and amidships, the most expensive of all locations, for which you are usually charged a premium over the advertised minimum fares on passenger ships.

This booklet points out that it is frequently astonishing how low freighter fares are as compared with passenger ship fares; for example, less than one-half of the passenger ship fare to California is the amount asked on freighters. On most of the longer runs, the difference in favor of the freighters is regularly from a third to half of the passenger ship fare.

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Service and meals on a freighter leave little to be desired. You will be treated with consideration Stewards will go out of their way to make your voyage pleasant. On ships with East Indian stewards you will be waited on almost hand and foot, in a manner that is completely unknown to Americans and most Europeans.

Foreign ships offer their own specialties, says the booklet. Thus vessels in the East Indian trade serve Rijkstafel, the East Indian dish which can run to as many as 50 different courses. Scandinavian ships serve Smorgasbord every day, and some of their desserts (like strawberries smothered in a huge bowl of whipped cream) are never forgotten. Another feature of freighter travel is in its informality. No formal clothes are needed. Sports clothes are enough.

Other valuable information such as how to tip, shipboard activities and costs are covered in the booklet, "Travel Routes Around the World." Some of the trips listed include a trip to England for $160, a 12-day Caribbean cruise, or a leisurely four-month round the world voyage.

The booklet is published by Harian Publications, Greenlawn, New York, and may be obtained by sending to the publisher. So, when it arrives all you need to do is sit down and take your choice. The booklet lists literally hundreds of ocean trips.

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